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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE  
STATE OF CALIFORNIA—Part 9

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HEARING  
BEFORE THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION

---

APRIL 21, 1954  
(AFTERNOON SESSION)

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEE

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.  
(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

## RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE X

#### STANDING COMMITTEES

(1) There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE XI

#### POWER AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

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(a) Un-American activities.

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# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA—PART 9

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*San Diego, Calif.*

## PUBLIC SESSION

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to adjournment, at 2 p. m., in the Chamber of Commerce Building, Hon. Donald L. Jackson (acting chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Donald L. Jackson and Clyde Doyle.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; William A. Wheeler, staff investigator; and Mrs. Billie Wheeler, acting for the clerk.

## AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be in order.

The Chair wishes to acknowledge the presence in the hearing room of our distinguished colleague from Washington, Congressman Bob Wilson. We are glad to have you here.

Mr. WILSON. Thank you.

Mr. JACKSON. Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Counsel?

## TESTIMONY OF LLOYD HAMLIN—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. At the end of the testimony this morning, Mr. Hamlin, you were telling the committee about your experiences within the veterans' organization, the American Veterans' Committee organization, is that correct?

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there anything in addition regarding your appearance as a delegation to a State convention of that organization in which this committee would be interested?

Mr. HAMLIN. Not particularly, no, sir. I think one of the important things to remember in conjunction with the Communist Party's work in the American Veterans' Committee, particularly in California, is the fact that only a handful of Communists could actually, in a sense, control a State organization of this type.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other mass organizational work did you engage in at the suggestion of the Communist Party?



Mr. HAMLIN. Originally a number of Communist Party members participated in the CIO, PAC, later, of course, going into the Independent Progressive Party.

During the campaign for fair employment practices in San Diego I was given the job as the person in charge of that particular campaign by George Lohr.

Now, may I clarify that from the standpoint of initiation of the signature campaign in San Diego. The signature campaign for fair employment practices was not originated by the Communist Party. As I remember, it was originated by the Democratic Party. This is only one of many, many instances where the Communist Party was able to influence a particular campaign or particular organization by infiltration and by their establishment of their own members in working positions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give the committee the names of any of the members of the Communist Party who were active in that same field with you?

Mr. HAMLIN. Well, as an example, in the fair employment practice campaign A. C. Rogers was quite a figurehead there, and the Communist Party as a whole actually participated in this campaign from the standpoint of soliciting signatures and things of that type.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any other particular mass organizations in which you functioned?

Mr. HAMLIN. Well, there were so many that offhand I don't recall any particular ones. There were a number of rather insignificant ones, such as an attempt by the party to start an arts and crafts profession here, and an ASP group, which was not successful, and a number of by-products of the veterans' committee on veterans' problems, such as a housing forum back in 1946, I believe, and things of that type.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the Committee, please, what the chief activities were of the Communist Party during the period you were a member?

Mr. HAMLIN. The chief activity of the Communist Party at all times is to: Number one, perhaps it would be wrong to put one ahead of the other, they both have about the same importance, recruitment of members and propagandizing the public from the standpoint of a particular tactic, maybe in operation at that time, or as is better known as the party line, at that particular time.

Mr. TAVENNER. We have heard during the years of attempts to arouse minority groups. What was your experience, or what did you observe in regard to the Communist Party in that field?

Mr. HAMLIN. One of the most important fields of recruitment in the Communist Party definitely here in San Diego, and I understand through the Nation, is that of agitation and recruitment in minority groups. The Negro group, of course, is singled out as a special group for this type of work. In San Diego, of course, we were not peculiar in that instance. The Communist Party had as one of its primary goals always the working in the Negro community.

Many examples could be given of that. I might say, and would like to say at this time, and give the Negro people a very high compliment in my estimation, and that is to the effect that although the Communist Party here in San Diego made special recruitment drives, and at all times tried to recruit and propagandize the Negro people,



the percentage of membership of Negroes in San Diego County has always been very low, and the Negro people by and large I found in my experience are people who do not actually swallow the Communist Party propaganda line.

It is a fact that Negroes do join the Communist Party, but by and large they immediately realize that the Communist Party is not a party that stands for in action the things they put forth in theory, and, therefore, the Negro people have withstood, in my estimation, admirably the drive that the Communist Party has put on against them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee in what way an effort was made by the Communist Party to recruit among the Negro people?

Mr. HAMLIN. There were a number of special campaigns. A rather recent campaign, that has never been very successful, is that of jobs for Negroes on the bus lines. That was instigated originally by the Communist Party. Other organizations have been pulled into it, but only after its inception in thinking by the Communist Party.

As a concrete example of the thinking behind a specific program of this type, in 1946, I believe, the Communist Party in session in its central committee, in its county committee, received a directive from Los Angeles which bawled them out because they had a very low membership of Negro people, so they decided that they would put on a campaign in the Logan Heights area called a campaign for employment of the Negro people. This is a matter of record, public record in newspaper articles about that particular time.

As an example, I believe the Safeway Store was originally picketed and later on the Victory Theater, a number of establishments there.

But the thing I would like to bring out is the fact that although from the public standpoint the Communist Party publicized the fact they were definitely working for jobs for Negroes, it was only a subsidiary consideration, because the primary one was that of recruitment in the Negro community, involvement of the Negro community on the picket line where observation could be made as to the militancy of certain individuals who were later set aside as contacts for possible recruiting.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have stated that the Communist Party was not successful to any material extent in recruiting members of the Negro race.

Mr. HAMLIN. That is right. In this particular instance, as an example, it was reported back to the county committee, of which I was a member, a number of people who had been solicited or who had been contacted and had actually attended a Communist Party meeting where they were given Communist Party material and more of an insight into the Communist Party were, of course, in view of the actual recruitment, and although there was a fair size number of Negroes attended this particular meeting, I wouldn't stipulate the number because I actually did not remember the exact number, to my knowledge there was not one Negro who actually remained a Communist Party member from that particular campaign.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know any instances in which the Communist Party was successful in procuring the use of the names of more or less prominent Negroes in the community and got them to join the party and sent them as delegates to any of the State conventions?

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes. Of course, that was, may I say in slang, a trick that was used quite often by the Communist Party in soliciting the names of well known persons using them on stationery or on propaganda to influence a particular area of the population.

There was a gentleman in the Logan Heights area who was used about 1945 and 1946 quite extensively for that purpose. Later on actually he joined the Communist Party for a short period of time, was invited to and attended at least one county committee meeting of the Communist Party which, of course, was a secret meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was that, do you recall?

Mr. HAMLIN. He is a real-estate gentleman in the Logan Heights area. His name escapes me for the moment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he was sent to a State convention on one occasion?

Mr. HAMLIN. Not from actual personal knowledge. Only from a very short discussion that I had personally with George Lohr at this time. His name was promoted as a possible person to attend a certain convention. Now, as to my personal knowledge of whether he actually made that trip or not, I do not say, but at least he was supposed to have made it with George Lohr. This gentleman's name, incidentally, is Tony Smith.

Mr. TAVENNER. You recall now that this is his correct name?

Mr. HAMLIN. That is his correct name.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you on the county executive committee?

Mr. HAMLIN. From September of 1945 until June of 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your experiences were while a member of that committee, without repeating testimony that you have already given?

Mr. HAMLIN. Of course, that would be a real large order, inasmuch as the county committee, which has been set forth before, of any particular Communist organization, is charged with the direct responsibility of planning and seeing that these plans are carried out of all of the activities of the Communist Party in any particular county. By that I mean that in San Diego our county committee was charged with the responsibility of discussing possible recruitment into the Communist Party; the county committee was charged with the responsibility of passing judgment on those people who were expelled from the party, dropped from the party; the educational programs that would be carried out by the particular clubs and units in the Communist Party; all of the activities actually were routed through the county committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I believe that at this point I would like to interrupt this witness' testimony and call him back at a later time, possibly this afternoon or tomorrow morning, and proceed with some other testimony that we have here. We have quite a few witnesses that we are anxious to dispose of today.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. The witness is excused temporarily from further attendance, but subject to instructions from counsel as to what time he should return.

Mr. HAMLIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you remain here?

Mr. JACKSON. Who is your next witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to call Mr. Louis Pollack.

Mr. JACKSON. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee, you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. POLLACK. I will.

Mr. JACKSON. Be seated.

### TESTIMONY OF LOUIS POLLACK, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, WILLIAM MURRISH

Mr. POLLACK. I would like to request, I would like to tell you that I have a hearing handicap, unfortunately. Secondly, I do not mind pictures at all, but please tell them to conclude now, and after the hearing I would be most happy to cooperate with the photographers.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. The photographers will refrain at this time.

Mr. POLLACK. Just during the questioning, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

Mr. POLLACK. Thank you.

Mr. JACKSON. Your request pertains only to the photographers.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. POLLACK. Louis Pollack.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. POLLACK. I am, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. MURRISH. William Murrish, Los Angeles, Calif.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Pollack?

Mr. POLLACK. I was born in Hungary, 46 years ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to this country?

Mr. POLLACK. When I was 2 years old, approximately.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are naturalized, a naturalized American citizen, I presume.

Mr. POLLACK. My citizenship is derived from my father, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you reside?

Mr. POLLACK. San Diego, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in San Diego?

Mr. POLLACK. Approximately 19 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your educational training has been?

Mr. POLLACK. Would you like it complete, sir?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir; just in brief, and your formal educational training.

Mr. POLLACK. No formal education, unfortunately, sir. I could say something else on that, if you would like, perhaps for your information.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just as you desire about that.

Mr. POLLACK. Well, as I said, unfortunately I never had what you would call a formal education. I went to grammar school in the city of New York. We moved out to California approximately thirty-odd years ago, and I went to grammar school in Los Angeles. Unfortunately I had to earn a living and help my family, and I sold news-



papers on the corner of Sixth and Main Streets—Congressman Jackson and Congressman Doyle know that area—fought in the Los Angeles Newsboys' Club for a living, sold papers on the city of Los Angeles streets for many years, finally thought I would like to add to my education, so I took an examination—I never graduated from grammar school—I took an examination for high school, was accepted, never graduated from high school, interrupted again for the purpose of making a living, went further and entered in Southwestern University through an examination, which I passed; went in for 1 year, and unfortunately I had to earn a living again for myself and my family.

Mr. TAVENNER. It certainly is no reflection on an individual that they have not had opportunity for extended formal education. Self-education quite frequently is the best kind.

Mr. POLLACK. I agree with you, sir; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your profession or trade has been from 1940?

Mr. POLLACK. Well, I don't know what you mean by profession. I am not a professional man, in what I consider you are thinking of. I am not a lawyer, I am not a doctor or any of those things.

Mr. TAVENNER. I said profession or trade.

Mr. POLLACK. I don't have a trade either, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then what is your occupation?

Mr. POLLACK. I am a clothing man, I own a clothing store at the present. Is that what you mean?

Mr. TAVENNER. From 1940 until now?

Mr. POLLACK. I would like to remember always it has been since 1940, I am quite sure, in a clothing store. Would you like to know where, sir?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; I am not interested in that.

The committee has received evidence of the existence in San Diego of a special group or club of the Communist Party sometimes referred to as a professional group, composed of individuals whose names were to be kept secret from the membership, the general membership of the Communist Party. We are inquiring into the membership of that club, and its activities.

Information was given the committee this morning under oath by a witness that you were a member of that club, and I want to ask you questions regarding your membership in it, if you were a member, and what you know of the activities of that group.

Mr. POLLACK. Is that all one question, sir?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, that is a preliminary statement to you. My first question is, were you aware of the existence of such a group of the Communist Party in San Diego?

Mr. POLLACK. Mr. Tavenner—is that correct?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. POLLACK. That question I am going to decline to answer for these reasons, sir. I decline to answer that question, and I deny the right or the power in the committee to ask such questions or to compel me to answer the same on each and every of the following grounds, both separately and jointly:

Number one: That this and any other thought, speech and association question violates the first amendment, and grievously so.

Two: That said question violates the fourth amendment by seeking to impose an unreasonable search, a search of thought and mind.

Three: That said question and any other thought, speech, and association question in circumstances of my compulsory summoning here, and in the context of this committee's index of unnumbered individuals, causes, organizations, and ideas, is jeopardous and endangers my rights and privilege under the fifth amendment not to be a compelled witness against myself.

Four: Finally, that said question violates the moral lesson expressed in the following excerpts from the Bible, and I am quoting from the Bible, and the quotation is from St. Mark, Chapter 15, lines 2 to 5.

And Pilate asked Him, "Art Thou the King of the Jews?" and He answering said unto him, "Thou sayest it."

And the chief priests accused Him of many things, but He answered nothing.

And Pilate asked Him again, saying, "Answerest Thou nothing? Behold how many things they witness against Thee."

But Jesus yet answered nothing; so that Pilate marvelled.

I want to explain that, if I may, that last one particularly.

MR. TAVENNER. Yes, that has been stated before, before this committee.

MR. POLLACK. Has it? I didn't know. I don't read, don't hardly ever have a chance, sessions of this kind, sir. But I do not want to be mistaken by anybody that I am a member of the very fine, any of the fine Christian churches. I quoted this from Jesus solely and wholly because I believe in the principles of Jesus, even though I am of the Jewish faith. Certainly I believe in what He has said, 'Do unto others only as you would have them do unto you,' and peace on earth. I believe all of those very fine things Jesus has said, particularly this quotation from St. Mark, sir.

MR. TAVENNER. Have you been a contributor to the Communist Party?

MR. POLLACK. Mr. Tavenner, as I told you, I had a very bad education, but I am a self-educated man, fortunately. I recognize questions of entrapment, sir. Please, I do not want to evade any of my rights. Please, I ask you, sir, I do not want to answer that question, sir, under the same legal reasons stated previously.

MR. TAVENNER. There is certainly nothing in the nature of entrapment about that. It is a plain, simple question as to whether or not you have aided the Communist Party in San Diego by giving it money. That is a plain, direct question, and I would like an answer to it.

MR. POLLACK. Mr. Counsel, this is your place, this is your forum. This is not my forum. At a proper place, what I consider proper, at least something that between you and I, between the gentlemen from Congress, I would be most happy to discuss my life.

MR. JACKSON. You decline to answer that question?

MR. POLLACK. Yes, I stated so, Congressman Jackson.

MR. JACKSON. For the reasons previously stated?

MR. POLLACK. Yes, I stated that, sir.

MR. JACKSON. Very well, proceed, Counsel.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you at any time occupy an official position in the Communist Party in San Diego?

MR. POLLACK. The same answer, sir, under the same legal constitutional grounds.

MR. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. POLLACK. Why don't you ask me if I have stopped beating my wife, sir? I told you, please, do not ask me questions of entrapment. The same answer, the same legal constitutional grounds, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I make this observation there?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. POLLACK. Congressman Doyle, I am sorry, I can't hear up there that far.

Mr. DOYLE. May I make this observation there for the information of the witness and his counsel, assuming you were not in the room when any witness did this which I am relating.

We have had witnesses which were formerly members of the Communist Party but who withdrew for one reason or another. They have taken the position before this committee that they desire to tell the committee that they were at one time members of the Communist Party but were not today members of the Communist Party, then stood on their constitutional rights. Now, I am naturally not trying to put words in your mouth, Mr. Pollack, because I have never met you, I have never talked with you, but I do know that many times men who worked for one reason or another in the Communist Party but have withdrawn desire to let their fellow neighbors know that they were not today members of that party. We have had many witnesses do that.

I say I am saying this not to make any inference or suggestion to you or your lawyer, but in order to familiarize you with what frequently happens before this committee.

Mr. POLLACK. You didn't imply anything, did you, sir?

Mr. DOYLE. I did not imply anything.

Mr. POLLACK. I wondered. I was hoping you were not making any implications, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I am not making any implications or inference. I am just telling you, I had not seen you here in the room until you took the witness chair.

Mr. POLLACK. I am very glad you said no inference, sir, because that is in the Constitution with reference to the fifth amendment. That you will agree with, that in my refusing to answer there is absolutely no inference of any guilt whatsoever. Is that correct?

Mr. DOYLE. Bless your heart, you are 100 percent right, and we compliment any citizen who conscientiously claims that right. We urge our fellow citizens to claim that right, when they do it in good faith and conscientiously under the advice of their legal counsel. So I am quite willing to say to you, Mr. Pollack, the fact that you have claimed your constitutional right is the right which every Member of Congress recognizes, not only this committee, and if you have not had that urged to your attention before, may I publicly urge it to your attention, that we are quite aware of that right and we uphold it a thousand percent.

Mr. POLLACK. Thank you, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Now, may the Chair make just a slight addition?

Mr. POLLACK. Are you talking to me, sir?

Mr. JACKSON. I am making an observation relative to the fifth amendment. The fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States says that no witness shall be required to give evidence against himself in a *criminal case*. Those words are frequently not added



by those who use the provisions of the fifth amendment. If your use of the fifth amendment is in good faith and a truthful answer to the question would, indeed, incriminate you, you are entitled to the use of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MURRISH. And he is entitled——

Mr. JACKSON. Just a minute. If an answer to the question would not incriminate you, then that is an entirely different matter.

Mr. MURRISH. On that, sir, you differ with several courts, and the word "incriminate" does not appear in the Constitution, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. May I assure counsel, as I assume he has been provided with a set of the rules of the committee, which requires that counsel advise his client, which I assume he has done. You have every right to do it.

Mr. MURRISH. I have.

Mr. JACKSON. The Chair respects that. However, counsel is not to engage in legal argument with the committee or with counsel.

Mr. POLLACK. Congressman Jackson, may I say a word on that, sir?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, of course.

Mr. POLLACK. Seemingly, you have not read the very latest ruling from the Circuit Court of Appeals. I believe it was either in the State of New York or that area, which was noted, I believe it was, within the last couple of weeks—to be very, very honest with you, I read it just before I came over here at my house—in which, I can't think of his first name, but the judge's last name was Frank—is that name familiar to you at all?

Mr. JACKSON. No.

Mr. POLLACK. Please look it up, will you please, sir? It definitely and absolutely, this Circuit of Appeals judge in this case absolutely in reference to the fifth amendment said there is no such thing as there being allowed even an inference of any guilt for the privileges and the duty of using the fifth amendment. Believe me, sir, I read that today.

Mr. JACKSON. The committee is very happy to have the citation. However, and I repeat that in the case of the employees of the United States Government who were released from the United Nations, Mr. Trygve Lie appointed an international committee of jurists to determine the question as to whether or not their taking of the fifth amendment could in any way be interpreted as an illegality, or whether they were entitled to reinstatement in the United Nations.

This committee of eminent jurists, including an American jurist, a Belgian and, I believe, an Englishman, reported back to the United Nations to the effect that the dismissal of the United States employees in this instance was, in their opinion, and after a study of all the law relative to the subject, entirely justified in that the taking of the fifth amendment by these employees implied 1 of 2 things: Either, 1, that a truthful answer to the question as to whether they had done certain things would incriminate them, in which case the U. N. was justified in dismissing them, although in that case it was a proper use of the fifth amendment. It was the further finding of this board of distinguished jurists that unless that condition existed they had misused the provisions of the fifth amendment.

Now, those were the two alternatives which this board of jurists brought back to Mr. Lie of the United Nations.

I do not infer from your refusal to answer, your taking the provisions of the fifth amendment, any admission or inference of guilt on your part.

Mr. POLLACK. May I interpose, please? I think you are using the wrong term when you said the fifth amendment. I think the proper word should be the duty.

Mr. JACKSON. To stand upon.

Mr. POLLACK. Not behind, of course.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, counsel.

Mr. POLLACK. Thank you, Mr. Jackson.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time a member of the professional group of the Communist Party in San Diego?

Mr. POLLACK. You asked me that question, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir, I have not.

Mr. POLLACK. I am sorry. I thought you did. The same answer on the same legal constitutional grounds, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. I have no questions.

Mr. JACKSON. If there are no further questions, the witness is excused.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Tony Smith.

Mr. JACKSON. During this short interlude, before the next witness, the Chair has several communications which should be read into the record at this point.

The subcommittee is in receipt of a telegram signed by Mr. Edward A. Walsh, formerly director of the FHA in San Diego. The telegram addressed to the subcommittee states as follows:

I wish to say that the witness, Milton Lessner, who stated Tuesday that he was employed by the Federal Housing Administration in San Diego, was never employed by the Federal Housing Administration, of which I was director from 1935 to 1952, when I retired owing to ill health.

The second communication deals with a similarity in names. During the testimony this morning the name of a Mr. Robert Watrous, W-a-t-r-o-u-s, was brought into the hearing when a witness testified that the individual had been, to his personal knowledge, a member of the Communist Party here in San Diego. It happens that there is employed in the Bank of America here in San Diego an R. D. Watrous, Robert D. Watrous, who is desirous of informing the public generally that he is not the individual whose name was mentioned by the witness here this morning.

Proceed, counsel.

Mr. JACKSON. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear that in the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee, you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SMITH. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

### TESTIMONY OF TONY SMITH

Mr. SMITH. Tony Smith.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you come forward a little bit?

What is your name?



Mr. SMITH. Tony Smith.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you live, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. San Diego.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Smith, the committee has heard through the last witness that was on the stand that you were a person of some prominence in your community who was brought into the Communist Party for the purposes of the Communist Party. Is that true?

Mr. SMITH. Well, part of that is true, but I don't want him to say I was prominent. I am just an ordinary citizen. But the rest of it I will admit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, the witness said that you were a person of prominence.

Mr. SMITH. Well, if he said so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it true that you were brought into the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. Well, according to the statement, I think he is right. I was brought in. The first thing, we had a committee against discrimination. I was one of the organizers of it, because we were fighting against discrimination.

Mr. DOYLE. May I interrupt? I didn't hear you ask if he was willing to testify without counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. No, I did not.

Mr. SMITH. Oh, I don't need counsel. I have nothing to be ashamed of.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mr. SMITH. You look good enough to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. No, I can't represent you, but I will certainly see that all the facts are brought out on both sides.

Mr. SMITH. I believe that, and I believe every word of it. So just ask me anything you want and I think Mr. Hamlin here told a very true picture of my getting into this business, and anything you want to ask me I will be glad to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, we are anxious to know how the Communist Party induced you to become a member.

Mr. SMITH. Well, on account of the conditions that existed in my neighborhood out there. They came in under a disguised manner.

Mr. TAVENNER. They indicated to you that they were genuinely interested in the problems that existed there?

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. And by that method got you to join their party?

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. We have heard a great deal of testimony here that that is what the Communist Party was endeavoring to do, was to recruit members in that manner.

Mr. SMITH. Well, they did a pretty good job out there. They did a lot of work, but I don't know whether the job was so good.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did they ask you to do any particular thing for the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. No, they always came to me to get a little money. I didn't have time to do any recruiting.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your business?

Mr. SMITH. Real estate business. You see, when they were picketing the theater and the stores across the street, some of those people, they paid some of them for working up and down the street against the bosses to give these people jobs out there.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say they came to you for money?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did they ask you to do anything other than to give money?

Mr. SMITH. No, they didn't ask me to do anything, because I didn't have time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did they use your name in the community to help recruit other persons?

Mr. SMITH. I imagine they did.

Mr. TAVENNER. What group of the Communist Party did you become a member of?

Mr. SMITH. Well, I became a member of the Logan Heights Club, and I found out afterwards, just before they kicked me out, that it was out and out Communist, so they kicked me out of it.

Mr. TAVENNER. They kicked you out?

Mr. SMITH. Kicked me out.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the reason for kicking you out?

Mr. SMITH. They claimed I didn't sit in.

Mr. TAVENNER. You didn't sit in?

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What happened to bring them to a conclusion or view that you didn't sit in?

Mr. SMITH. Well, the only excuse I had was that I had some houses to rent and I was renting them to people of other races besides my race, and they said I should have put the other people out and put my own people in, and I told them I couldn't see that. A man was a man to me, and I didn't care anything about a man's color.

Mr. JACKSON. You mean they objected to the alleged discrimination you were displaying?

Mr. SMITH. I wasn't discriminating, because I had a lot of houses to rent.

Mr. JACKSON. I mean lack of discrimination.

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. So they got you into the Communist Party, to begin with, because you were interested in the subject of non-discrimination, and you got kicked out of the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. Got kicked out.

Mr. TAVENNER. For practicing the very thing that they took you in for?

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask at that point, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand that you are telling this committee that here in San Diego you as a Negro American were in your very extensive real estate operations renting your properties, the properties for which you were agent, to others than Negroes, and they objected to that?

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. I mean the Communist Party objected and wanted you to limit your renting to just Negroes?

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. They wanted you to discriminate in favor of your Negro neighbors?

Mr. SMITH. That is right. And that is the thing I have been fighting ever since I have been in town, discrimination.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the Communist Party members assign any reason for asking you to expel your white patrons?

Mr. SMITH. No, they didn't. I didn't have anything more to do with them after that. I never said anything more to them about it. Of course, they asked the Lighthouse out there, that publishes the paper, and I just forgot about it. I told them to go jump in the lake, because I wouldn't stand for it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Before you left the Communist Party did you attend any county and state conventions of the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. Well, I went up to Sacramento one time, mostly for the ride.

Mr. TAVENNER. You went up for the ride?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who rode with you?

Mr. SMITH. Enos Baker.

Mr. TAVENNER. Enos Baker?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Enos Baker a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. He was the man that had me kicked out. [Laughter.]

Mr. JACKSON. Please, the Chair will again ask the cooperation of the audience in refraining from any demonstration of approval or disapproval.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did any of the other members of the Communist Party from San Diego go to that same convention?

Mr. SMITH. Oh, there was quite a few, but I didn't—most all of them was of the other race, and I didn't know any of them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you go to Los Angeles at any time on a convention?

Mr. SMITH. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee about that.

Mr. SMITH. That I don't know very much about, because I was up there, that is all I can say. And I think I was appointed on a committee, but I can't remember what committee it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any county conventions in San Diego?

Mr. SMITH. Not as I know of.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was it that you were dropped from the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. I think it was in 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you go into the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. It must have been some time in 1945, I am not sure; just before they started the drive out there.

Mr. TAVENNER. We are anxious to learn from you what success the Communist Party had, or what extent their efforts were a failure, in bringing Negro people into the Communist Party.

Mr. SMITH. I don't think they had very good luck, because after I was kicked out, why, the thing soon went down.

Mr. TAVENNER. It took a spurt upward, though, when you went in, didn't it?

Mr. SMITH. I think it did. There was some woman out there that was representing some kind of other party called I. P. P., I don't know what it was. It hung out there about 6 or 8 months, maybe a year, but I couldn't tell just very much about them. I wouldn't know them if I would see them. They had a place out there in the 2700 block, but I don't know them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has any effort been made to get you to go back into the Communist Party since you were expelled?

Mr. SMITH. None whatever.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have no connection with the Communist Party now, of course?

Mr. SMITH. None whatever. And I don't want to have none.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you have not been affiliated in any way with it since the time you were dropped?

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. Was there any committee hearing or any hearing given you before you were expelled?

Mr. SMITH. I don't understand you.

Mr. DOYLE. Was there any committee that you were invited to meet with of the Communist Party before you were expelled? I mean, did you have any hearing?

Mr. SMITH. No, I didn't have any hearing. No. No hearing at all.

Mr. DOYLE. Did they send you a written notice of expulsion?

Mr. SMITH. No, they give notice to the newspaper outfit.

Mr. DOYLE. They just published the notice?

Mr. SMITH. No, the man didn't publish. He thought it was very foolish. He come and told me about it. I told him he could publish it if he wanted to; if he didn't, to let it alone. I said, "I am through with that kind of stuff."

Mr. DOYLE. One more question. I think I heard you indicate at the time you were renting your houses and acting as an agent for houses too, there were plenty of houses other than those you rented just for Negroes, there were plenty of other houses to rent.

Mr. SMITH. Well, I didn't look at it—that wasn't the question that entered my mind. I figured if there wasn't any more houses the people that was in the houses, and because they were white I had no business putting them out, I had no excuse to put them out because their skin was a little lighter than mine. As long as they paid me my rent that is all I wanted. I figured the colored people could get houses, I was getting houses for people all the time.

Mr. DOYLE. That is all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I neglected to ask the witness a question that I wanted to ask him.

Who was it that came to you and got you to come into the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. I think that Morgan Hull was the most responsible for it, and, of course, the woman that organized the committee against discrimination sold deceit out in that neighborhood.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall now about how much money you contributed to the Communist Party while you were a member?



Mr. SMITH. That I couldn't tell. The committee against discrimination, I put in maybe 10 or 15 dollars. You see, we had a lawsuit out there. I sold a woman a house on a corner of 25th and K, and we had to get a lawyer to keep the people from putting her out, so I was a pretty good contributor to that cause. At that time we had what is known out there as block restrictions.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Smith, you are something of a rara avis. I understand you are a member of the Republican Party.

Mr. SMITH. I am.

Mr. JACKSON. I am glad you didn't decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. SMITH. I want to tell you, I am fighting for Bob Wilson, too.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you hold a position in the official organization of the party?

Mr. SMITH. I am a member of the Congressional Committee and a member of the California State Republican Committee.

Mr. JACKSON. I hope I won't be accused of being partisan and showing a partisan attitude if I wish you future success in that office.

Thank you for your testimony.

If there are no further questions, the witness will be excused from further attendance.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. LaVerne Lym.

Mr. JACKSON. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee, you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LYM. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

### TESTIMONY OF LaVERNE LYM, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, BEN MARGOLIS

Mr. LYM. LaVerne Lym.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. LYM. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. MARGOLIS. My name is Ben Margolis, M-a-r-g-o-l-i-s.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Lym—excuse me. I won't want to rush you there. Take your time.

Mr. LYM. Was there a question? I have a statement that I would like to present to the committee by reading it.

Mr. JACKSON. If it is a prepared statement, under the rules of the committee it may be submitted to the committee and will be considered at the conclusion of the testimony. If in the judgment of the committee it fulfills the rules respecting statements, it will be inserted in the record.

Mr. LYM. May I submit it now, Mr. Congressman?

Mr. JACKSON. You may submit it now.

(The document was handed to the committee.)

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Tavenner, may I ask this of the witness: Is the statement you have submitted to us, about three-fourths of a page long,

the same statement that you have just delivered to the members of the press here?

Mr. LYM. Yes; it is. It is the same statement.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Lym?

Mr. LYM. 1902 in Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mean the city of Washington or the State of Washington?

Mr. LYM. State.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you born in the State of Washington?

Mr. LYM. A town called Ellensburg.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. LYM. I reside in Los Angeles.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Los Angeles?

Mr. LYM. Since 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that time where did you live?

Mr. LYM. I lived in San Diego.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you live in San Diego?

Mr. LYM. Fifteen years.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period of time that you lived in San Diego, what was the nature of your occupation?

Mr. LYM. Well, during the time that I lived in San Diego, I spent a great many of those years in the Vauclain Tuberculosis Sanitarium. I was not able to be employed at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you employed at any time during the period between 1940 and 1945?

Mr. LYM. Mr. Counsel, I decline to answer that question on constitutional grounds. The first amendment of the Constitution provides that Congress can make no legislation regarding the freedom of assembly or association or freedom of speech or freedom of press and, therefore, if that is true, which it is, this legislative committee does not have any constitutional power to question me regarding my employment or association at that time.

I would like to state that this committee has for too long a time been hacking away at the Bill of Rights of the United States.

I decline to state furthermore, Mr. Counsel, on the basis that I am not a stool pigeon and I will not become a stool pigeon. I will not participate in the efforts of this committee to subvert and convert our Nation into a Nation of informers, and I will not participate to any degree whatsoever in your efforts to undermine the love which our people have for the Constitution and the hatred which they have for McCarthyism. As long as there are people who will stand and fight for the fifth amendment of our Constitution, which protects the innocent, the McCarthys will never be able to subvert our country and our democracy.

I demonstrate my support for the Constitution by standing upon my constitutional rights under the fifth, fourth and first amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Among the various grounds you have assigned was the fifth amendment, is that correct?

Mr. LYM. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever employed or engaged in work of any kind in the International Book Shop in San Diego?

Mr. LYM. I decline to answer that question on constitutional grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you affiliated or connected in any way with the People's World while you were living in San Diego, either in a managerial capacity or that of an ordinary employee?

Mr. LYM. I decline to answer that question, Mr. Counsel, for the same reasons that I have stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Lym, you have been identified in testimony before this committee as having been an organizer of the Communist Party in San Diego. I would like to inquire as to whether or not that identification of you is correct.

Mr. LYM. Mr. Counsel, I would like to state here and now that in each and every one of my declinations to reply to your questions that I wish to invoke my rights under the fifth amendment. I decline to answer this question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LYM. I decline to answer on the same basis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LYM. I decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. I do not question, of course, your right to use the fourth amendment of the United States Constitution. Can you help me to understand in what manner you feel the text of the fourth amendment applies to your constitutional rights at this hearing?

Mr. LYM. Did I mention the fourth amendment, sir?

Mr. DOYLE. I am quite sure you did.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes.

Mr. LYM. Then it may have been that I was in error.

Mr. DOYLE. I thought probably it must be an error, because manifestly the fourth amendment of the United States Constitution has no reference to your appearing before this committee.

Mr. JACKSON. Is there anything further, Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. No further questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well, the witness is excused from further attendance under the subpoena.

Call your next witness, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Phillip Usquiano.

Mr. USQUIANO. Wait a minute. I would like to request no pictures be taken while I am testifying, please.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. Your request will be considered after you have been sworn.

Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. USQUIANO. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Be seated, please.

Will the still photographers cooperate by not taking pictures during the witness' testimony.

Proceed, counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?



# TESTIMONY OF PHILLIP USQUIANO, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, BEN MARGOLIS

Mr. USQUIANO. Phillip Usquiano, U-s-q-u-i-a-n-o.

Would you mind if I read my statement?

Mr. JACKSON. The statement will be read following today's hearing.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name once more?

Mr. USQUIANO. Usquiano, U-s-q-u-i-a-n-o.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your first name?

Mr. USQUIANO. Phil.

Mr. TAVENNER. Phillip?

Mr. USQUIANO. Phillip.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. USQUIANO. Yes, I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. MARGOLIS. Ben Margolis.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. USQUIANO. I was born in Grant, New Mexico.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. USQUIANO. At 3188 Boston Avenue.

Mr. TAVENNER. In San Diego?

Mr. USQUIANO. San Diego.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in San Diego?

Mr. USQUIANO. Since 1940. I resided in the County of San Diego since 1936.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Mildred Berman testified before this committee and identified you as a person who was listed as a member of the Communist Party during the period that she was dues director in 1944, some time between 1944 and '46. Was she correct in identifying you as a member of the Communist Party in San Diego?

Mr. USQUIANO. Well, I don't like to associate my name with any informer. I decline on the ground I am forced to testify against myself; the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you willing to give the committee any facts within your knowledge regarding the operations of the Communist Party in San Diego?

(At this point Mr. Usquiano conferred with Mr. Margolis.)

Mr. USQUIANO. It is assumed that you have facts to this knowledge of something like that. I don't like to associate with any of those things that you have just mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, you may not like to do it, but will you do it?

Mr. USQUIANO. No, I won't. Congressman Jackson and Congressman Doyle, and Mr. McCarthy, they have violated the Constitution and the oath they took to protect it, and they have violated that, and I think that the people have a right, it is a privilege, and it is my privilege to stand on the ground that any decent people cannot testify on himself—innocent, not decent.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by innocent person not testifying against himself?

Mr. USQUIANO. Well, there is on the fifth amendment, it is being used a lot, and that is why the fifth amendment was put in there.

Mr. TAVENNER. You think it is fashionable to use the fifth amendment?



Mr. USQUIANO. Well, can I ask you, why was the fifth amendment put in there?

Mr. TAVENNER. It was for protection of those whose testimony might tend to incriminate them. Now, you have said that you were entirely innocent of any wrongdoing.

Mr. USQUIANO. What was the question?

Mr. TAVENNER. So I would like to ask you, are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. USQUIANO. I refuse to answer any questions of that nature. I think—well, I know that the people have a right to protect the Constitution and I have that right to claim privilege under the first, fifth, ninth, and tenth amendments.

Mr. JACKSON. Let the record show that no one has in any way infringed upon his rights or disregarded those rights to claim the constitutional privilege. Counsel has not put in any objections to that at any time.

Do you have any further questions, counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you have any questions, Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. You mentioned just now you claimed your right under the ninth and tenth amendments of the United States Constitution. In what way does Amendment No. 9 of the United States Constitution apply to your rights here today?

Mr. USQUIANO. Are you an attorney? Would you like to define that? You are an attorney, aren't you, Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. I haven't practiced law for 8 years, since I have been in Congress, but I have the United States Constitution here in front of me, and as long as you speak of the ninth amendment and the tenth amendment, I thought of course, you were familiar with them.

So will you please tell me in what way they apply to your rights here today?

Mr. USQUIANO. Yes. I am short on words, you know, being a laborer. I am not a politician, and I would like counsel here to tell you exactly what the ninth and tenth amendments are so that you will know.

Mr. JACKSON. Let the Chair say that if the witness has been advised by counsel that he should take refuge in those amendments, I do not feel that it is essential for the witness to know the purport of the amendments. Evidently he has been advised by counsel to stand upon those amendments.

Mr. MARGOLIS. I will be glad to enlighten Mr. Doyle.

Mr. JACKSON. I do not think it is necessary, Mr. Margolis.

Mr. USQUIANO. Mr. Jackson—

Mr. JACKSON. That is all right. Your declination based on those amendments would be accepted without objection.

Mr. USQUIANO. Mr. Jackson, investigating subversives and everything here in San Diego, I think it is up to you to report to Congress when you make your report that there is such a thing as something subversive over here. We have a little over 20,000 unemployed, and I think you ought to do something and report it to Congress, because I think that that is more of interest to people than this smear that you are trying to put on.

Mr. JACKSON. Let me say to the witness that his short and illuminating speech is in the record and will be a permanent part of it, so anyone reading it can read your statement.

Mr. DOYLE. I think, Mr. Chairman, that the witness has stated that you and I have violated our oath to the people of the United States, and I think I would like to hear the witness say if he is prepared to explain how I have violated my oath of office to the people of the United States. Will you please tell me, sir? I am giving you a chance to propagandize, or anything else you want for a minute.

Mr. USQUIANO. Well, as a witness coming here without a jury you come out here to smear me and to let me invoke those amendments for my protection that you are violating, those constitutional amendments we have, and I think that you gentlemen, in spite of everything, you have violated that oath, because it states specifically in the fifth amendment that you cannot testify against yourself in any case until you have a jury or a witness is there.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, just very briefly, may I reply to you thus: We have certainly not tried to urge you to violate your conscience and testify against yourself. You claimed the fifth amendment of the United States Constitution, and that is okay, but I want to call your attention to the fact that we are here as members of the United States Congress operating under Public Law 601, which directs us and authorizes us to go in the Continental United States and question people as to the extent and character of subversive activities, and that is why we are here questioning you. We believe that the record shows that the American Communist Party, without question, is a subversive organization and, therefore, we are questioning you as an American citizen to see if you can help us find the extent of it and the character of it in the San Diego area.

Mr. USQUIANO. I think that you can find that in the files of the FBI, and I am pretty sure that they are capable of acting on this. What you are trying to do is smear people by making stool pigeons out of persons to smear our acquaintances and friendships in places where we are together, or anything that you think we touch.

Mr. JACKSON. It is quite apparent to the chairman that the witness is not going to answer any of the questions that are directed to him. I think any further discussion of it is simply a waste of the committee's time.

Do you have any further questions, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Without objection, the witness is excused from further attendance under the subpoena.

Call your next witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Lee Gregovich.

Mr. JACKSON. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee, you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GREGOVICH. I do.

Could I give a statement to the chairman of this committee?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, the committee will receive the statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

# TESTIMONY OF LEE GREGOVICH, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, BEN MARGOLIS

Mr. GREGOVICH. Lee Gregovich.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. GREGOVICH. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is the same counsel as the previous witness?

Mr. MARGOLIS. That is correct, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Gregovich?

Mr. GREGOVICH. I was born in Yugoslavia in 1904, June 14.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to this country?

Mr. GREGOVICH. Oh, about 1912.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized American citizen?

Mr. GREGOVICH. I derive my citizenship through my father.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was your father naturalized, and where?

Mr. GREGOVICH. I would say around the twenties. I don't exactly know the year, but I can get that information for you if you wish to have it.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the place of his naturalization?

Mr. GREGOVICH. You mean where he received his papers?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. GREGOVICH. Globe, Arizona.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. GREGOVICH. 3478 Glenn Drive, Spring Valley.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that near San Diego?

Mr. GREGOVICH. Yes; it is in the county, within the county.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the county of San Diego?

Mr. GREGOVICH. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in the county of San Diego?

Mr. GREGOVICH. Well, I have been approximately about 28 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your profession, trade or occupation?

Mr. GREGOVICH. Cook.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Gregovich, there has been information presented to the committee which indicates that you have knowledge of Communist Party activities in the county of San Diego.

Mr. GREGOVICH. Mr. Chairman, I am not responsible for what your stool pigeons and liars and your informers say about me.

Mr. TAVENNER. This is an opportunity that you have of straightening out any testimony which has been given here which you claim is a lie.

Mr. GREGOVICH. Mr. Chairman, when my boy was 17 months in Korea they didn't hold investigations like this. I was a good American; I wasn't called up here by these stool pigeons of yours in this committee.

Mr. JACKSON. I would like to know, and I am sure Mr. Doyle would too, in what respect was the testimony touching on you a lie?

Mr. GREGOVICH. Every one of your stool pigeons who has mentioned my name, in the newspapers, radio, and every means of propaganda there is.

Mr. JACKSON. Did they lie?

(At this point Mr. Gregovich conferred with Mr. Margolis.)

Mr. GREGOVICH. Mr. Chairman, I am not going to discuss that with this committee.

<sup>1</sup> See note at end of this publication.

Mr. JACKSON. You decline to answer my question as to whether or not they lie?

Mr. GREGOVICH. I do on constitutional rights, fifth amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was testified here that you were a functionary in the Communist Party in San Diego; is that true or false?

Mr. GREGOVICH. Mr. Chairman, same question, same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GREGOVICH. Same question, same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness is excused from further attendance under the subpoena.

Call your next witness.

At this time the subcommittee will stand in recess until 3:45.

(Whereupon, at 3 p. m., a recess was taken until 3:47 p. m.)

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be in order.

Who is your next witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Gladys Gatlin.

Mr. JACKSON. Will you please raise your right hand and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Miss GATLIN. As a Christian I do not swear, but I will affirm.

Mr. JACKSON. Your affirmation will be considered.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, this witness has not been subpoenaed, and just a few moments ago in the corridor she requested the right to appear before the committee and I advised her under the rules of the committee she had that right.

Mr. JACKSON. Has the witness been named?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, she has.

Mr. JACKSON. Named in open hearing?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, in testimony here.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. Under the rules of the committee she is entitled to be heard.

Mr. TAVENNER. And she appears here as a voluntary witness.

You have not been subpoenaed, have you?

Miss GATLIN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us your name again, please?

### TESTIMONY OF GLADYS GATLIN

Miss GATLIN. Gladys Gatlin.

Mr. TAVENNER. G-a-t-l-i-n?

Miss GATLIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you live, Miss Gatlin?

Miss GATLIN. 2701 Newton.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you say Newton, 2701 Newton?

Miss GATLIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is in San Diego?

Miss GATLIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in San Diego?

Miss GATLIN. About 23 years.



Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you state to the committee anything that you desire to state, as you are here voluntarily, of course, regarding the matter of communism.

Miss GATLIN. I only wanted to make it clear to the committee and to all those who know me that I am not a Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. That you are not now a Communist?

Miss GATLIN. That I am not a Communist, and that I don't feel that I really ever have been a Communist, although at one time I did have my name—

Mr. TAVENNER. Excuse me, we are not quite hearing you. If you will, raise your voice a little, please.

Miss GATLIN. At one time I did sign my name to a paper that I would belong to the party, and officially I did belong to the party for a matter of about 4 months, but I never have been a Communist in principle.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were only in the party 4 months?

Miss GATLIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. After that time you severed all connection of every kind with the Communist Party?

Miss GATLIN. Yes, I stopped going to any of their social functions which were the only things I remember ever going to, were the social functions, and when I moved away from the address where I was living, then I no longer—I discarded the literature that was sent to me unopened.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, how it happened that you became a member of the Communist Party?

Miss GATLIN. Well, through a friend of mine and my husband, we met some people that were in the Young Progressive League, and through them we met some people by the name of Mr. and Mrs. Warren.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. and Mrs. Warren?

Miss GATLIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you remember their first names?

Miss GATLIN. Mrs. Vera Warren and I believe her husband's name was Robert Warren. And in attending social functions at their house and meeting other people through them, I believe it was one night at their house they asked us if we wanted to join the party, and they showed us a statement that said—more or less the meaning of it was that the Communist Party of America definitely did not advocate to overthrow this Government by force and violence, but they found no fault with the Constitution of the United States as it was written, but only in some of the ways it was executed, and it was their only desire to see that equality ran to all people, as it was guaranteed within the Constitution, and I found no fault with that, and, therefore, I felt I was willing to sign my name to it.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say you remained in the Communist Party only 4 months?

Miss GATLIN. Yes, I was active in the social functions only that length of time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why did you leave the Communist Party?

Miss GATLIN. Well, I became disillusioned because of some of the things that I found out. I didn't find anything that I could say that I think is subversive in any of the gatherings, or anything that



I went to. The only thing is that I remember once there came up the question about religion, and there was a couple of members that I knew that were discussing it, discussing religion, and they spoke rather lightly of Christianity, as though it meant nothing.

Mr. TAVENNER. They spoke lightly of Christianity?

Miss GATLIN. Of Christianity, and I began to see it was an anti-Christ organization. That was one of the things that disillusioned me. Another thing was once——

Mr. TAVENNER. Excuse me. It is rather difficult to hear you. I heard you say it was anti-Christ.

Miss GATLIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. That the organization was anti-Christ, and I didn't understand you after that.

Will you repeat as nearly as you can what you said?

Miss GATLIN. Another thing that disillusioned me was in speaking with another girl who was in the party, I mentioned that my husband and I thought we might go to another city to live, and she suggested to me that I should see the party about it and see what they thought about it, because the party might request that I didn't leave San Diego at the time, and I never had anything like that presented to me before.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was indicated to you that you might have to have permission of the Communist Party before you went to another city?

Miss GATLIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. To work?

Miss GATLIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, what was it about the Communist Party that convinced you that it was anti-Christ?

Miss GATLIN. Well, just the matters of how—I don't remember the exact conversation, but it was spoken of so lightly—Christianity. Something was mentioned about it was for the masses, or something like that. It was more or less it was bosh, or something like that.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you gather the impression you were expected to accept communism as a substitute for other spiritual values which you might have had before that time?

Miss GATLIN. No; I didn't gather that, because in the conversation it was mentioned that it was all right, but as long as it didn't hurt the party, as long as the party came first.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you had to put the party before your religion?

Miss GATLIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were not willing to do that?

Miss GATLIN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. No question.

Mr. JACKSON. I would say to the witness that I think she has exercised very good judgment in coming here and volunteering to tell the committee of her short activity in the Communist Party. The committee has a standing invitation to anyone anywhere in this country who has at any time been a member of the Communist Party and has left it, to come forward and let the committee know. The committee has no intention nor desire to in any way lend itself to the persecution of such individuals, but to give them every help it can in making possible social, economic, and political rehabilitation.

We are most appreciative of your cooperation, and I hope that your friends and neighbors and associates will understand the motivation that brought you down here.

With the thanks of the committee, you are excused.

Miss GATLIN. Thank you.

Mr. JACKSON. Who is your next witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Carol Bayme.

Mr. JACKSON. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear, in the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee, you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss BAYME. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Be seated.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

### TESTIMONY OF CAROL BAYME

Miss BAYME. Carol Bayme.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you here by virtue of a subpoena?

Miss BAYME. No; I am a volunteer witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are appearing voluntarily?

Miss BAYME. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Miss Bayme?

Miss BAYME. I am a native of San Diego.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in San Diego?

Miss BAYME. All my life, except for a short period, more or less to visit elsewhere.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your educational training has been?

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Tavenner, I notice that the witness has no lawyer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. I possibly should have asked her that question, even though she is a volunteer witness.

Miss BAYME. I waive that right.

Mr. JACKSON. But you understand that during the course of the interrogation you can consult with an attorney?

Miss BAYME. Yes; I have consulted counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have consulted counsel, do I understand?

Miss BAYME. Oh, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe I asked you what your educational training has been, Miss Bayme.

Miss BAYME. I did not finish high school. I was in it 2 years when I quit, and I have had 2 years of art school besides that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time been a member of the Communist Party?

Miss BAYME. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you become a member?

Miss BAYME. I became a sympathizer in late 1948, and I became a member early in 1949; that is as close as I can put it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Miss BAYME. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you cease to be a member?

Miss BAYME. That is harder to tell. At my own request I approached Mrs. Shermis about a year after I became inactive in the party and asked that I be officially dropped, and I was so dropped, but

I wasn't informed just when it took place. I think it must have been sometime in 1951.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the circumstances under which you became a member of the Communist Party?

Miss BAYME. I first became interested in the problems of minority groups in this city, and was active in the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, and through associations I met people who were so-called progressives, and one of these people, non-Communist but progressive, took me to an organized meeting of Youth for Wallace, and I began to work with the Independent Progressive Party, its campaign in 1948, and as I became more and more acquainted with the people who I began to realize were Communists, it seemed to me at the time that they had the answers to the problems that I was worried about.

So I approached Jeff Boehm and asked him——

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us that name again?

Miss BAYME. Jeff Boehm. His correct name is Godfrey Boehm, B-o-e-h-m. He is no longer a member of the party.

Mr. JACKSON. You know that of your personal knowledge?

Miss BAYME. Yes, he told me so. He was expelled.

Mr. JACKSON. Then he is no longer a member.

Miss BAYME. Jeff Boehm took me to Bernadette Doyle, who recruited me into the party, and introduced me into my first club, which was a youth group.

Mr. TAVENNER. A youth group of the Communist Party?

Miss BAYME. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, is that something separate and distinct from the Young Communist League, or the Labor Youth League?

Miss BAYME. At the time I joined, the Young Communist League did not exist nor did the Labor Youth League.

Mr. TAVENNER. So this was a youth group of the Communist Party?

Miss BAYME. A group of three.

Mr. TAVENNER. A group of three. Who were they, please?

Miss BAYME. Norman Lavine, and Paul Sleeth.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, what was the function of this small group called the Youth Group?

Miss BAYME. We were to direct as far as possible the activities of the young progressives and the other youth organizations in this city, as well as the regular work you did in the party, picket lines, and so forth; leaflets.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were to carry the Communist Party line and decision into what group?

Miss BAYME. The young progressives and into the NAACP youth group.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you engage in that activity?

Miss BAYME. Well, I stayed in the activity——

Mr. TAVENNER. I mean in that particular youth group activity?

Miss BAYME. That was for a very short time. We were split up as a group and sent out to different clubs rather than segregated as youth, and I was then transferred to the Logan Heights Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was it that assigned the duties to this youth group which it was supposed to carry out?

Miss BAYME. Usually Bernadette Doyle.



Mr. TAVENNER. Bernadette Doyle?

Miss BAYME. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee about when it was that you were assigned to the Logan Heights group of the Communist Party; what year, if you can tell us?

Miss BAYME. Well, it must have been the same year I joined, because it couldn't be very long I was in the youth group. I can't say very definitely. I am very bad at dates.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was approximately what year?

Miss BAYME. Early 1949 was when I said I joined, so it must have been late 1949 when I transferred. That is pure conjecture.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the leaders in that group that you became a member of?

Miss BAYME. It is difficult to remember. David Starcevic, Miriam Starcevic; I don't know whether Ernestine Gatewood was there or not.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you know her as a Communist?

Miss BAYME. I knew her as a Communist, but she is no longer a Communist.

Mr. JACKSON. She has left the party, to your own personal knowledge?

Miss BAYME. She has left the party.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Miss BAYME. J. Fouts. Her name is Frances J. Fouts.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I do not think the witness said yes, she nodded her head very nicely when you asked her is she was no longer in the party. I didn't hear you say anything.

Miss BAYME. I stated it. It is in the record.

Mr. DOYLE. You nodded your head.

Miss BAYME. Ernestine Gatewood has left the party.

Mr. DOYLE. All right.

Miss BAYME. Nancy Rosenfeld Lund, and Richard Lund, Phillip Usquiano.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is he the same individual who appeared here as a witness a few minutes ago?

Miss BAYME. Yes, sir. I can't say certainly whether any of the rest of the people I recollect were in the Logan Heights Club. These groups overlapped a great deal, you see, the same people all the time. One time in an executive meeting and the next time a club meeting, and it is hard to tell them apart. We used to call it organizing the organized.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the leaders in the Communist Party here, the ones who were most active in that period of time while you were a member?

Miss BAYME. Bernadette Doyle, of course; Ernestine Gatewood; Lynne Ackerstein; Godfrey Boehm; Rhoda Robinson, now Rhoda Lavine; Norman Lavine; Lolita Gibson; Larry Moyer; Nancy Rosenfeld Lund; Goldwyn Brodsky; Celia Shermis; Harry Shermis; Verna Langer; Joseph Langer—

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that name?

Miss BAYME. Langer, L-a-n-g-e-r.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the first name?

Miss BAYME. Verna.

Mr. TAVENNER. Verna.



Miss BAYME. And her husband Joseph Langer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what position Verna Langer held in the Communist Party?

Miss BAYME. Secretary, I believe. She usually gets those jobs. Bert Dugdale, Helen Dugdale, Laura Stevenson.

Mr. TAVENNER. Those were persons—I want to make certain—were those persons all known to you to be personally members of the Communist Party?

Miss BAYME. Yes, I have either seen them at a meeting or they have told me personally that they were Communists.

Mr. JACKSON. Meeting them at closed meetings of the Communist Party?

Miss BAYME. I neglected to mention, I believe, that Lynne Ackerman is also out of the party. She was also expelled.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who is that?

Miss BAYME. Lynne Ackerman.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was she expelled, do you know?

Miss BAYME. I can't say exactly. She told me she was expelled. She tried to get back into the party, but they wouldn't have her. I discussed it with her in San Francisco. That is where it happened.

Mr. JACKSON. Then it was not a philosophical break on her part?

Miss BAYME. I think by this time it may be.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, any other assignments that you were given in the Communist Party besides those you have already told the committee about?

Miss BAYME. Yes. One of the very last elections I was elected chairman of the Labor Youth League here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you chairman of the Labor Youth League?

Miss BAYME. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, how did the Communist Party function in the Labor Youth League?

Miss BAYME. They ran it.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were present in the hearing room a moment ago, were you not, when the witness Gladys Gatlin testified?

Miss BAYME. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. She testified she learned while in the Communist Party that it was anti-Christ in its attitude, and that the Communist Party must come before religion. Did you have any experience in the Communist Party that would throw any light on the attitude of the Communist Party toward religions?

Miss BAYME. I personally couldn't throw any light on it. I am not a particularly religious person myself, and this question never came up as far as I am concerned. However, I think the answer is found in Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you given instructions at any time by the Communist Party as to the attitude that should be taken by Communists toward religion or toward religious groups?

Miss BAYME. Toward religious groups. I can answer that. I was instructed not too long ago, in the hopes of assisting the FBI, when I tried to get back into the party, I was instructed that I would have to join a church youth group, or a church, and become active in its work.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were told if you came back——

Miss BAYME. In order to get back into the party I would have to get into a church group and work within it and try to influence it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who told you?

Miss BAYME. Also the Young Democrats, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who told you that?

Miss BAYME. Verna Langer. It was her report, she told me, from the county committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am sorry. I couldn't understand you.

Miss BAYME. She told me it was a report from the county committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. A report from the county committee of the Communist Party?

Miss BAYME. Yes. She had consulted them about my coming back into the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did you do about it?

Miss BAYME. Well, there were some other requirements I couldn't fulfill, so I gave it up, but I thought that it was a point of interest anyway.

Mr. JACKSON. What would the date have been when these requirements were set before you?

Miss BAYME. I am sorry. I didn't hear you.

Mr. JACKSON. What would the date have been when these requirements were put before you for re-entering the party?

Miss BAYME. Some time in February. I didn't keep a record.

Mr. TAVENNER. February of what year?

Miss BAYME. Of the——

Mr. JACKSON. Investigation?

Miss BAYME. This year.

Mr. JACKSON. This year?

Miss BAYME. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. May I make it clear to myself; do I understand that the reason in February of this year you were told by a known Communist functionary here in San Diego that one of the requirements for you to get back into the party was that you should infiltrate into the Young Democrats?

Miss BAYME. No. You see, I was already assisting the Young Democrats slightly, and I asked if I should change my registration and stop assisting them, and they said, "Oh, no, by all means stay with them and maybe you can influence them."

Mr. DOYLE. Stay with them as a registered Democrat?

Miss BAYME. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Even though you were in fact a Communist?

Miss BAYME. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there any more information that you can give us regarding the purpose of the Communist Party in requiring your affiliation with some church.

Miss BAYME. No, that is all that was mentioned. Oh! Earlier, I mean it is an old story, they had asked this once before of the Labor Youth League members. None of them wanted to do it. They were an agnostic bunch and ill-disciplined, fortunately for us, so that it didn't work out.

Mr. TAVENNER. What instructions were given them?

Miss BAYME. The same, only not so firmly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any affiliation with the Civil Rights Congress?

Miss BAYME. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. While you were a member of the Communist Party?

Miss BAYME. Yes, sir. I was a member of the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any motivation on the part of the Communist Party in your joining that group?

Miss BAYME. Surely.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee about it, please.

Miss BAYME. The Civil Rights Congress is run by the Communists. I don't think I ever attended a meeting that wasn't—well, at least 50 percent, even the open meetings were at least 50 percent Communists. They were never very big.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did the Communist Party exert its influence within the Civil Rights Congress, how did it go about it?

Miss BAYME. It dictated the sort of cases that it would take up, and I think it is an organization that was put together to defend Communists and it defends other people occasionally, just to make it look a little more legitimate.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why is it that you quit the Communist Party; what motivated you in quitting?

Miss BAYME. Well, you remember my motivation in going in was minority groups. I discovered that the Communist Party was more interested in a disturbance as a useful means to an end rather than interested in it to assist the people. They looked forward with a kind of unholy glee to racial discord in Logan Heights area here, or anywhere. They used people. They are dishonest about it, and they think they are honest, too.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there any example that you can give the committee at this time to demonstrate that?

Miss BAYME. I probably could if I could go through my files of People's World, but I am not prepared to otherwise. There are dozens of cases.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was that disillusionment that took you out of the party?

Miss BAYME. Yes, partly; and I was unable to swallow the idea that the South Koreans started the war. It sat less and less well, you know.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your reason for coming forward here as a voluntary witness and giving this information to the committee?

Miss BAYME. One reason is I would like it clearly understood where I stand now, and I also would like it known that this is a trap, that it is very easy to fall into. It is very much sugar-coated, and I would like people to know that there isn't any utopia at the end of this road. There isn't anything except regimentation and regimented thinking and regimented action, and also I would like people to know that once you get in it isn't as hard to get out as people think.

Mr. DOYLE. You mean it isn't as easy to get out?

Miss BAYME. No; it was very easy for me to get out. I just opened up the phone book and called the FBI and they were extremely nice to me.

Mr. JACKSON. Didn't you have some hesitancy in coming in to what has frequently been described as a torture chamber to lay this story out and get it off your chest, so to speak?

Miss BAYME. Yes; I had some hesitation, but this committee hasn't been one of the ones I am objecting to.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there anything else you desire to say to the committee?

Miss BAYME. Not unless you have some more questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. I understand you in the first instance to indicate you had been in the party from 1949 to 1951. Did I understand you correctly?

Miss BAYME. I can only be approximate. I think I so stated.

Mr. DOYLE. Then I am interested in how it came about as late as February of this year—

Miss BAYME. That was after I talked to the FBI, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I see.

Miss BAYME. I went there in order to try to assist them in obtaining more information. I felt I hadn't enough to give them.

Mr. DOYLE. Now, you referred to the fact that you began work or became interested in working with the I. P. P. party in 1948.

Miss BAYME. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. I wish to say in asking you this question, we have abundant evidence at some levels the I. P. P. party was in certain sections absolutely under the control of the Communist Party.

Miss BAYME. I don't think it is necessary even to qualify that, sir. I think all sections in almost every way was under the control of the Communist Party at all times.

Mr. DOYLE. How far back?

Miss BAYME. I can only say after I got into the party.

Mr. DOYLE. After you got into the I. P. P. Party?

Miss BAYME. No, after I got into the Communist Party. Of course, before that I wouldn't be able to tell.

Mr. DOYLE. After you got into the Communist Party did you observe whether or not to what extent the Communist Party, of which you were a member, controlled the activities of the I. P. P. Party.

Miss BAYME. Almost all of the office staff were—well Lloyd Hamlin, you know, he was not apparently a real Communist, but Lynne Ackers-stein was and Ernestine Gatewood was, the chairman at that time I believe was A. C. Rogers. I can't testify myself as to whether or not he was a Communist, but I have heard the other testimony. The campaign manager, the speech writer, that is, was Jeff Boehm. He was a Communist. What have you left?

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask you something about your youth group activities. The Labor Youth League, you said you were president when you were a Young Communist.

Miss BAYME. No. There is a fine distinction. I don't really realize why they make it, but these organizations did not exist at the same time. When there was the Young Communist League there was no Youth Communist Club either. That came later, and that was dissolved to be replaced by the Labor Youth League. They didn't exist at the same time.



Mr. DOYLE. But you were a Communist when you were president of that league?

Miss BAYME. Oh, yes, of course. I was a rank and file Communist.

Mr. DOYLE. While you were a Young Communist, president of that league, or in the Communist Party, did you actually undertake to infiltrate into any other youth group that was not Communist dominated; I mean, to spread communism?

Miss BAYME. I did a very poor job.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you try?

Miss BAYME. Not too hard.

Mr. DOYLE. Were you instructed to try?

Miss BAYME. Yes, repeatedly.

Mr. DOYLE. And from what level of the Communist Party when you were president of the Young Communist League of San Diego did you receive instructions to try to infiltrate into other young peoples' groups for the purpose of spreading communism?

Miss BAYME. I received instructions through my club, my Communist Party club, and I received them from Bernadette Doyle, and on occasion from Celia Shermis.

Mr. DOYLE. What sort of young peoples' groups of San Diego, if any, did you under their direction or assignment try to infiltrate into, without revealing your identity as a Young Communist?

Miss BAYME. I told you we failed pretty miserably. I think one of our members actually joined the YWCA and took a course in hula dancing, or something, but that is about as far as it went to my knowledge. I was beginning at about that time to fade away.

Mr. JACKSON. Miss Bayme, I should like to say that from a personal standpoint today has been one of the high points of my service on this committee. I believe Mr. Doyle will agree with me. I know of no other instances where in the course of public hearings of this kind two voluntary witnesses have come forward to tell of their experiences in the Communist Party. That to me is a most significant development and is well worth the concentrated vilification and abuse which this committee takes at various times.

I am also most appreciative of the statement made by you relative to the activities of this committee and the conduct of this hearing. That is quite in contrast with what we hear from some of the witnesses.

I should like to express to you the thanks of the committee for what is at best an unpleasant ordeal.

Do you feel better?

Miss BAYME. Oh, much. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, and in addition to those good words, will you again extend the invitation which the committee often extends to the radio, press, and otherwise, for patriotic citizens who have had enough in the Communist experience to come forward as these two ladies have today.

Mr. JACKSON. I mentioned earlier today that we urge anyone who has been a member of the Communist Party and who has left it and wants to unburden himself of it, to come before the committee, and I assure any such individuals that they will receive a courteous hearing, and that no attempt will be made to unduly embarrass them.

Miss BAYME. May I thank Lloyd Hamlin for suggesting it.

Mr. JACKSON. If there is nothing further and with the thanks of the committee you are excused from your voluntary appearance on your part.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Verna Langer, will you come forward please.

Mr. JACKSON. Will you raise your right hand, please, and be sworn.

Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee, you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. LANGER. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Please be seated.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

### TESTIMONY OF VERNA LANGER, ACCOMPANIED BY HER COUNSEL, BEN MARGOLIS

Mrs. LANGER. Verna Langer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you live, Mrs. Langer?

Mrs. LANGER. 5914 Adelaide.

Mr. TAVENNER. In San Diego?

Mrs. LANGER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in San Diego?

Mrs. LANGER. Six years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you born?

Mrs. LANGER. In Kentucky.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you live before coming to San Diego about 6 years ago?

Mrs. LANGER. Detroit, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you live in Detroit?

Mrs. LANGER. I can't remember all those addresses in Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you live at more than one place in Detroit?

Mrs. LANGER. Oh, sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. Name those that you can recall.

Mrs. LANGER. Offhand I can't recall any at this particular moment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you live at 320 East Milwaukee Street?

Mrs. LANGER. Now that you recall it, I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did?

Mrs. LANGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you live there?

Mrs. LANGER. Oh, maybe a couple of years. I have no idea, really.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you live there at the time that you moved to California?

Mrs. LANGER. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Langer, what was your name before coming to California?

Mrs. LANGER. McAllister.

Mr. TAVENNER. McAllister?

Mrs. LANGER. That is right. Just a minute, please. May I make a suggestion.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mrs. LANGER. I would rather not be photographed during my testimony. I am having throat trouble, and it makes me more nervous than otherwise, so if you will just respect that.

Mr. JACKSON. The Chair will accede to that request and ask the photographers to refrain from photographing the witness during the course of her testimony.

Proceed, counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to read to you testimony taken by the committee in Detroit in 1952. This was testimony by Mrs. Bereniece Baldwin. Do you recall Mrs. Baldwin, having met her?

Mrs. LANGER. I would like to consult my attorney, please.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

(At this point Mrs. Langer conferred with Mr. Margolis.)

Mrs. LANGER. I refuse to answer that question on the following grounds. I am standing on my constitutional rights, and refuse to answer that question. First of all, you have no right to ask me who my acquaintances are, whom I knew, whom I know now, and I am invoking the first amendment and the fifth amendment, and at any other time in my testimony I might invoke other amendments of the Constitution.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you say the fifth amendment?

Mrs. LANGER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Since you mentioned advice of counsel, I realize that I forgot to ask you if you are accompanied by counsel, and to have counsel identify himself for the record.

Mrs. LANGER. I am.

Mr. MARGOLIS. Ben Margolis.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the course of the hearings in Detroit in 1952, February 1952, Mrs. Bereniece Baldwin, who was a functionary in the Communist Party for a number of years, and who acted for the Federal Bureau of Investigation for years, within the Communist Party, was questioned. I asked Mrs. Baldwin this question:

Mrs. Baldwin, the committee has from time to time heard evidence relating to the use of mail drops. Are you acquainted with the use of mail drops in this area?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. In fact, I was stationed at one of those mail drops, sort of a secret affair.

Question. Will you just tell the committee about it, please?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, it was located at 320 East Milwaukee and had been the apartment of Verna McAllister, who received special training, organizational training, that is, from the party, and was sent to California. This apartment was taken over by Laura Davis. I stationed myself there on the average of 3 nights a week for several hours. The dues secretaries of the various clubs on the east side, and sometimes the west side, would call there to make their dues payments and straighten the membership out with me.

Question. Do you know what has become of Verna McAllister, Mrs. Baldwin?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No, I have not heard from her or about her.

Mr. JACKSON. Where did she go in California, do you know?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No, I do not know what part of California she went to.

Now, will you tell the committee, please, what training, special training, if any, you had in the organizational work of the Communist Party in Detroit?

Mrs. LANGER. I refuse to answer that question, Mr. Tavenner, on the grounds that I previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a functionary of the Communist Party in Detroit?

Mrs. LANGER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Mrs. Bereniece Baldwin speaking the truth when she stated to the committee that you were sent to California by the Communist Party?

Mrs. LANGER. I would like to consult my attorney on that.

(At this point Mrs. Langer conferred with Mr. Margolis.)

Mrs. LANGER. Mr. Tavenner, at the time I came to California I was suffering from bronchial trouble. I was advised to come here by my doctor. I came here for my health, and aside from that I refuse to answer any more of that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. By that do you mean that there was some other reason for your coming to California besides your health?

Mrs. LANGER. I stand on my constitutional rights on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. What work did you engage in when you arrived in California 6 years ago?

Mrs. LANGER. For about 4 months I did no work at all because, as I told you, was suffering from bronchial trouble. I then obtained what started out to be parttime employment at a department store, a small department store, and I think maybe, oh, maybe a month I worked one day a week, something like that, I don't remember the exact length of time that it was on this parttime basis, maybe one day a week or so, and I began feeling better and they put me on a fulltime basis there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you affiliate with the Communist Party on your arrival in California?

Mrs. LANGER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you in the hearing room during the testimony of the witness who appeared just before you did, Miss Carol Bayme?

Mrs. LANGER. Well, I was sitting right over there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hear her testimony?

Mrs. LANGER. I heard it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it true what she said about coming to you for the purpose of rejoining the Communist Party after she had been dropped, this occurring in February of 1954, and that you presented the matter to the executive committee of the Communist Party, or counsel of the Communist Party, and informed her of the results?

Mrs. LANGER. I would like to consult my counsel, please.

(At this point Mrs. Langer conferred with Mr. Margolis.)

Mrs. LANGER. I refuse to answer that question on the ground previously stated. I am not going to debate with you as to whether her testimony was true or false. I think the record on the previous stool pigeons or witnesses friendly to this committee will bear out the fact that there has been misrepresentation in their testimony, and I do not intend to debate this issue with you.

Mr. TAVENNER. This is not a debate.

Mrs. LANGER. Or discuss it with you.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is a mere inquiry as to purely factual matter. Aside from what the witness testified to, did she appear before you and ask to get back into the Communist Party?

Mrs. LANGER. It is the same question. I will give you the same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you advise Miss Carol Bayme that one of the conditions of her returning to the Communist Party was that she must.



become a church member or affiliate with some church for the purpose of carrying out Communist Party instructions?

Mrs. LANGER. I just told you, Mr. Tavenner, I do not intend to discuss the testimony with you. You have her word. If I deny it, well, I would probably be up for prosecution under the Smith Act. If I admitted it, so what? I am not here to discuss her testimony at all, and I don't intend to.

Mr. JACKSON. You decline to answer?

Mrs. LANGER. I decline to answer, as I said at the beginning: I decline to answer that question.

Mr. JACKSON. Upon the ground previously stated?

Mrs. LANGER. I stated that already.

Mr. JACKSON. I am just making it clear.

Mrs. LANGER. Yes, I stated that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you hold any position in the Communist Party today? And no witness has testified to that.

Mrs. LANGER. Well, I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. So it isn't a question then of what some witness has said?

Mrs. LANGER. You have no right to inquire into my political beliefs, my activities, my thinking, and this committee here is trying to tell me what I can think or what I can't think, and I do not intend to cooperate with this committee in any way.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. LANGER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel, I see no useful purpose to be served in pursuing further interrogation of this witness. It is quite obvious she is not going to cooperate with the committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. May I ask the witness one further question?

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now the organizer for the Communist Party for the County of San Diego?

Mrs. LANGER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. I have no questions.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness is excused from further attendance on the subpoena.

Mrs. LANGER. Could I read a statement before I leave?

Mr. JACKSON. You may leave the statement with the reporter, and it will be considered together with other statements which have been presented at the hearing.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Joe Langer.

Mr. JACKSON. Will you raise your right hand, please? Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee, you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LANGER. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. MARGOLIS. May we have the pictures over with before we start?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

**TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH LANGER, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,  
BEN MARGOLIS**

Mr. LANGER. Joseph Langer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. LANGER. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. MARGOLIS. Ben Margolis.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Langer?

Mr. LANGER. 1902 in North Dakota.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you now live in San Diego?

Mr. LANGER. Yes, I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in San Diego?

Mr. LANGER. Since about 1920.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has been informed through testimony that you are in a position to advise it regarding Communist Party activities in San Diego. Were you at any time a member of the Communist Party in San Diego?

Mr. LANGER. I refuse to answer that question by the use of the fifth amendment. I will not be a witness against myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LANGER. The same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness is excused from further testifying under his subpoena.

Mr. LANGER. I have a statement I would like to leave.

Mr. JACKSON. Leave it with the reporter.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. David Starcevic.

Mr. JACKSON. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee, you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. STARCEVIC. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

**TESTIMONY OF DAVID STARCEVIC, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS  
COUNSEL, BEN MARGOLIS**

Mr. STARCEVIC. David Starcevic, S-t-a-r-c-e-v-i-c.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted that you are accompanied by the same counsel as the previous witness.

Mr. STARCEVIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Starcevic?

Mr. STARCEVIC. I was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, September 7, 1915.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you now reside in San Diego?

Mr. STARCEVIC. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in San Diego?

Mr. STARCEVIC. Perhaps from 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you lived in this area prior to that time?

Mr. STARCEVIC. No; I think it would be correct to say that I had no legal residence here, although I had come and gone from about 1941.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your profession, trade or occupation from 1941 until the present time?

Mr. STARCEVIC. Well, there were various occupations. In the early part you mentioned from 1941 on to about 1945, I was a merchant seaman. I made my headquarters in San Pedro, and probably would consider that my address at that time. I shipped in and out of the port of San Pedro.

Mr. TAVENNER. After you moved to San Diego, what was your occupation?

Mr. STARCEVIC. I engaged in building a house for our own use.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period of time that you were a merchant seaman, did you have occasion to observe any activity on the part of the Communist Party among merchant seamen?

Mr. STARCEVIC. I think that is an invasion of my rights under the first amendment. I think you have no right to ask me about my political activities. I am guaranteed freedom under the first amendment to belong to a party of my choosing, to read whatever I please, and to assemble peacefully with whomsoever I may desire.

Mr. TAVENNER. I suggest the witness be directed to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. MARGOLIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to raise the question of a quorum. Is this a one-man committee?

Mr. DOYLE. Well, Mr. Jackson has stepped out of the room for 1 minute. If you object to it we will just wait until he returns.

Mr. MARGOLIS. I think if there are any questions to answer we ought to wait until there is a quorum here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; I think we should have a quorum of the committee.

Mr. DOYLE. All right, we will wait.

(A brief intermission was taken, after which Representative Donald L. Jackson returned to the hearing room.)

(Brief intermission.)

Mr. JACKSON. A quorum is present. The witness is directed to answer.

Mr. STARCEVIC. I would have felt lost without your quips, sir, and your gavel.

Mr. JACKSON. I thank you very much, sir. I feel the same with respect to your inimitable sarcasm. Is there a question pending, Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. I think I should reframe the question, or ask it over.

Mr. MARGOLIS. Is the order to answer withdrawn?

Mr. JACKSON. I will withdraw it if counsel is going to reframe the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. My question to the witness was, did you observe, while a merchant seaman, Communist Party activity within or among the merchant seamen?

Mr. STARCEVIC. As I stated before, I will try to repeat as best I can, I don't think the committee has any constitutional right to invade my privacy with reference to any political party that I may have belonged to, to any association that I have had peacefully, with anything I may have read, or with any religion that I may possibly have belonged to.

Mr. TAVENNER. I suggest that the witness be directed to answer the question.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness is directed to answer.

Mr. STARCEVIC. And further, insofar as I intend to resist this committee, because I think it is part and parcel of McCarthyism, despite the fact it carries a different name, I think I will further invoke all the other provisions in the Constitution that may apply, including the fatal fifth.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

Mr. STARCEVIC. Which has fallen into disrepute because of innuendoes made by the Congressmen here and by counsel.

Mr. JACKSON. No; it has fallen into disrepute, sir, not because of the activity of the Members of Congress, but I think it is being abused because of the conditions under which it has been taken by some of the witnesses.

Mr. STARCEVIC. I beg to differ with you, sir. Thomas Jefferson put it in for political dissenters. He put it in there so people like myself could answer people like you if they didn't happen to agree with you politically, and for no other reason. He didn't put it in there for bank robbers to hide behind.

Mr. JACKSON. The buzzing sound that is heard is probably the revered Jefferson turning over in his grave at the abuse to which the amendment is being subjected.

Mr. STARCEVIC. I disagree with you. I think the people who are dead in Valley Forge would refute your quip.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. STARCEVIC. Do we really need to go into that? I am going to refuse, because you are invading my privacy, under the provisions of the first amendment, which says that this committee is not allowed to recommend legislation abridging my privilege to belong to any political party that I choose, any legal political party. You can make no law abridging my right to a religion, to speak, or anything I choose to read, or to assemble peacefully with whomsoever I please. Secondly, you can make no law abridging that which is your purpose of asking. Are you frightening me or are you frightening the young people assembled here or perhaps the ones listening on TV?

Mr. JACKSON. Will the witness answer the question?

Mr. STARCEVIC. Why are you frightening the people? They are allowed to have any political belief they choose, are they not?

Mr. JACKSON. You may hold any political beliefs you want.

Mr. STARCEVIC. And I have further invoked the first amendment and told you you were an illegal body, that you had no right to ask me the question, and I further invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well, the witness declines to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.



Mr. JACKSON. The witness is released from further attendance under the subpoena.

Mr. STARCEVIC. There is one more thing I would like to cite.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness is excused from further attendance under the subpoena.

Mr. STARCEVIC. I have a statement. May I file it with you?

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. You may leave the statement.

Mr. STARCEVIC. Thank you very much for your courtesy, Mr. Chairman. My children who are looking on the TV will appreciate your sharp tone.

Mr. JACKSON. You have only been repaid in the currency of your own selection, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Miriam Starcevic.

Mr. JACKSON. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee, you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. STARCEVIC. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Be seated.

#### TESTIMONY OF MIRIAM STARCEVIC, ACCOMPANIED BY HER COUNSEL, BEN MARGOLIS

Mrs. STARCEVIC. I also would appreciate if some of the pictures were taken now and not during the testimony, and to simplify the matter, I too, have a statement, as my husband has. Shall I file it?

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. Leave it with the reporter.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mrs. STARCEVIC. Miriam Starcevic, spelled the same as the previous witness. M-i-r-i-a-m.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted that the witness is accompanied by the same counsel.

Mrs. STARCEVIC. I am very proud of Mr. Margolis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time been a member of the Communist Party in San Diego?

Mrs. STARCEVIC. It looks like we are going to get started right away. I have an answer here for that question which I would like to make here.

I believe that this committee here in the last few days has not been at all interested in what we call un-American activities and uncovering it. I have sat here for 3 days at the expense of several babysitters and leaving my family at home, four young children, to listen to what kind of violence can be brought forward. There has not been one witness, in my estimation, who could testify to any acts of violence against the United States Government. All we have heard from this committee is a group of informers and stool pigeons who couldn't tell the truth even if they tried. I know lots of them are paid for that, and it is their business.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did anyone of the witnesses tell an untruth regarding you?

Mrs. STARCEVIC. May I finish my statement?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; I am asking that question. Did anyone tell an untruth regarding you?

Mr. MARGOLIS. Do you withdraw the previous question, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; I am asking her this question.

Mr. MARGOLIS. Then she has the right to finish the answer to the previous question.

Mrs. STARCEVIC. Mr. Chairman, may I finish my answer.

Mr. JACKSON. I note the witness is reading a prepared statement.

Mrs. STARCEVIC. I am not equipped, Mr. Chairman, to speak fluently, and I have to take a few little notes to help me.

Mr. JACKSON. The rules of the committee specifically prohibit the reading of a statement.

Mrs. STARCEVIC. Fine.

Mr. JACKSON. Therefore, the statement which has just been read into the record will be stricken from the record. The statement will be considered upon the conclusion of your testimony together with other written statements.

Mrs. STARCEVIC. I am not reading that statement, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Will the reporter please read back the statement. You say this is not the statement?

Mrs. STARCEVIC. No.

Mr. JACKSON. It is not?

Mrs. STARCEVIC. I have prepared a few notes. That is not the one I was reading, Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well, proceed.

Mrs. STARCEVIC. I feel this investigation should investigate real actions of violence, and that is in the record, where many acts have been performed all over the country, such as groups like the KKK and other acts against minority groups. As far as I know, such people haven't been brought forth in any of these committee hearings.

I feel, secondly, as part of my reasons that I owe it to my children and their future not to cooperate with such a committee. If that were the case, it would allow would-be Hitlers and McCarthys to try to dictate to us how to think. Knowing from what has gone on it is a question here of what people think, not so much what they have been doing. They have been together here, and all that has been brought forth is a mass of thoughts and, therefore, I rely on my constitutional rights under the first amendment, the fourth, the ninth, tenth, and, of course, the fifth. Of course, by bringing them on myself here, I might bring testimony against myself. I think by taking this stand that thousands of people will find some courage to fight back and put a stop to such committees as McCarthyism.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness is excused from further attendance under the subpoena and the committee will stand in recess until 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon at 5 p. m., an adjournment was taken until Thursday, April 22, 1954, at 9 a. m.)

(By order of the chairman, information received from Leo Gregovich, 733 14th Street, San Diego, to the effect that he is not the individual, Lee Gregovich, who was named as a Communist and whose testimony is included herein, is now included in the record.)



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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE  
STATE OF CALIFORNIA—Part 10

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HEARINGS  
BEFORE THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION

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SEPTEMBER 11, 1953, AND APRIL 22, 1954

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COURTNEY E. OWENS, *Acting Chief Investigator*

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## PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

### PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### RULE X

##### STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

#### RULE XI

##### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together, with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.



RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American Activities.

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# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA—Part 10

THURSDAY, APRIL 22, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*San Diego, Calif.*

## PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to adjournment, at 9 a. m., in the Chamber of Commerce Building, Hon. Donald L. Jackson (acting chairman), presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Donald L. Jackson and Clyde Doyle.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; William A. Wheeler, investigator; Mrs. Billie Wheeler, acting for the clerk.

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be in order.

Before calling the first witness this morning, the Chair would like to announce that he is in receipt of a telegram which reads as follows:

Under title "More Than Score of Communists" Evening Tribune, April 20, the name Bob Fuller (no address) is included in list of acknowledged Communists. My name is Robert Harry Fuller known to hundreds in the community as Bob Fuller from my past presidency of Kiwanis', Toastmasters and Service Clubs Presidents Council. I live at 4297 Panorama Dr., La Mesa. I am most anxious that it be made publicly known that I am not that Bob Fuller listed in this article but I am strongly opposed to communism and have taken a strong public stand against it. My volunteer son died at Omaha Beach. I am ready to die fighting communism. Thank you. R. H. FULLER.

Who is your first witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, during the course of the session yesterday, Mr. Sterling C. Alexander made known his desire to return to the witness stand for a purpose of his own. I think this would be a good opportunity for him to do so.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

## TESTIMONY OF STERLING C. ALEXANDER—Resumed

Mr. ALEXANDER. I would like to be sworn, if you will.

Mr. JACKSON. I intend to swear you. Your testimony will not be received except under oath.

Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give before this committee that you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Be seated, please.

Mr. ALEXANDER (referring to the microphones). Are all these operative, or just one of them?

Mr. JACKSON. I believe the one on the outside is.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Tavenner, would you like me to develop the evidence?

Mr. TAVENNER. Whatever it is your desire to state, why please proceed.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I first want to state that yesterday I requested of this committee that the testimony of Dan P. Taylor on the 19th, that was Monday, in respect to his testimony on Henry Weihe of San Diego be ready for presentation. However, I have learned from the committee that this is not available. However, I remember very well the testimony and I am going to review it. If you, Mr. Tavenner, or any of the committee men, you Mr. Wheeler, who interviewed Mr. Taylor, if you feel that I have not presented it correctly I wish you would correct me, and between us I think we can determine what this testimony was.

Mr. TAVENNER. I gave you the opportunity to do that when you were on the witness stand, but if you have decided now to testify regarding it we will be very glad to hear it.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I tried very hard to testify in regard to certain points, but when you face a situation which is not due process, Mr. Tavenner, but just a continuous prosecution, we have to fight to get in any defense, it is a very difficult thing to do.

Mr. JACKSON. Will the witness suspend. The subcommittee has interrupted this hearing, at considerable inconvenience to ourselves, to give the witness, out of order, an opportunity to present certain material in the interest of equity and fairness. The subcommittee does not feel constrained to take abuse from any witness under the circumstances prevailing. If you have material which is relevant to your testimony or discussion of several days ago, we will receive the material, but we are not going to take it mixed with abuse.

Mr. ALEXANDER. It is not abuse. I stated a plain simple fact.

Mr. JACKSON. The plain simple fact is that due process of law is a matter of court procedure. This is an investigation to develop certain facts. It is not a proceeding in law. So when you say that people are denied due process of law and at the same time you ask to give additional material, I cannot reconcile the two statements. However, you may proceed with the presentation of whatever relevant information you have.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I think the facts that I present will develop that, Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I first want to state that, in large part, in regard to the testimony of Daniel P. Taylor, my evidence is documentary, and I have it here, and I intend to show it to you.

I want to review first his testimony in respect to an elderly man, a resident of San Diego, Mr. Henry Weihe. He stated that at the time—I didn't catch precisely the time; I don't know, Mr. Tavenner, if you questioned him on the point of time, I had no opportunity for cross examination to break down his testimony—but that the International Book Shop, I believe it was stated, that I had said to Mr. Taylor that I was designing to get from Mr. Weihe \$10,000 so that his heirs wouldn't get it. In other words, so that his heirs would be defrauded of it. And that this money had been directed, if I under-

stood what he said, by Russia, in the interest of the Communist Party of the United States.

Now, you and I, Mr. Tavenner exchanged some words in respect to it, and I pointed out, or tried to as well as I could, that the testimony was on its face absurd; that a country the size of Russia doesn't order unknown persons, such as myself, to turn over \$10,000 in funds to the Communist Party of the United States. And then you said, "Well, what about the Communist Party of Russia?" I understood you to say, and I said, "That is equally absurd."

Now, I was going to review a little more of what he said, but I think, because I want to be very direct, that we won't go into that any further.

Mr. TAVENNER. Oh, yes, we will.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Go ahead. I would be very glad to.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have a conversation with Mr. Taylor?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I am very glad you asked that. No; I never had any conversation with Mr. Taylor, and there is just one point I want to raise right now. I want it noted in view of the documents I hold here. His claim in regard to a sum of \$10,000, these documents will show that this as a financial unity never occurred in the transactions between me and Mr. Weihe until several years after, but yet in your papers dating to a long time after he possibly could claim this conversation, the sum of \$10,000 was in your photostatic copy, but yet at the time he said it there was never any question of the \$10,000, and I am going to develop that very fully, but I just want to point that out.

Now, go ahead.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let's be plain about this. Were you assigned by the Communist Party to influence Mr. Weihe?

Mr. ALEXANDER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. In any manner with regard to the disposition of his estate?

Mr. ALEXANDER. No; absolutely no, and I have papers here to prove it absolutely.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any such conversation with Mr. Taylor to the effect that you had such an assignment from the Communist Party?

Mr. ALEXANDER. It was absolutely totally entirely perjured. I never had such a conversation. What he said I said was untrue. I am not the kind of a person who would think of discussing Mr. Weihe's affairs with anyone without Mr. Weihe being present. I am not the type of person to do it. It was perjured from top to bottom.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did you engage in any way in advising Mr. Weihe to make a disposition of his property for the benefit or ultimate use by the Communist Party?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I did not, and I have papers here to show that I did not. I did not in any way. I will develop that in the testimony. It is no use going into that, saying it is not so, and you saying perhaps that it is. I have papers here which will show that that is false.

Mr. JACKSON. Let the Chairman say that the committee is not saying that anything is true or false. The subcommittee is attempting to arrive at the truth of the matter. If the facts develop that there has been perjury committed before the committee, appropriate action will



be taken to place that matter before the proper Federal authorities. But to state that counsel or the subcommittee is attempting to establish any fact against you is not a statement of fact.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I say as it stands, and I want to point this out, Mr. Jackson, if I may, that under our law legal procedures are assured wherein the defense has an opportunity to present testimony. Now, had I appeared under circumstances like that, I could have shown at the time that this was perjured testimony. I could have by cross-examination, and much better had I had an attorney, a good attorney, he would have broken down Mr. Taylor's testimony. I had no such opportunity, and consequently your records are perjured records. They do not represent the truth, and I assume, inasmuch as this is true of myself, it is true of most of your witnesses, or many of your witnesses.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I move that statement be stricken out, and that this witness be confined to take the time of this committee to the question in issue. I do not care to sit here this morning and hear this witness harangue and attack the committee.

Mr. JACKSON. The Chair has already made that statement, in substance, but I should like to say in reference to it again, to stress the fact that if the witness desires an opportunity with his counsel to cross-examine in this matter, that opportunity will undoubtedly become available in this case, as the witness says, there is obviously a serious conflict in the testimony. However, that privilege of cross-examination is reserved for a court of law, and I wish that the witness would in his discussion of the facts of this case not impugn the motives or the character of the committee. The committee seeks the facts, and on that basis you may proceed.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Jackson, I have no intention of charging here subordination of testimony, if that is what you mean. I am going to let the facts speak for themselves, and let the people be judges of what happened.

I want to state, too, I am not the kind of a person to do what was said I did. I received the Distinguished Service Cross, the highest award for fighting in the United States Army, and I am not a person who is trying to wheedle an elderly man to get his money, and I have papers here to prove that.

I wish to bring up right now a very odd conflicting incident that applies to Mr. Wheeler, who sits at this table at my left a few feet from me, who is the investigator for this committee on the West Coast, and who interviews informers——

Mr. JACKSON. Just a minute, Mr. Alexander. The committee is quite willing to receive your testimony relative to the facts in this case. However, the committee is not going to permit any personal attack upon any of the staff or any Member of Congress.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I am not making any attack on Mr. Wheeler at all.

Mr. JACKSON. When you say Mr. Wheeler interviews informers——

Mr. ALEXANDER. Of course he does.

Mr. JACKSON (continuing). The inference is not a pleasant one. We do not look upon people who come forward with information as informers. An informer, in the first place, is someone in a conspiracy who gives testimony relative to his co-conspirators. That is the definition of an informer.

Mr. ALEXANDER. You seem to think that is the definition. Then why do you object to it?

Mr. JACKSON. Are you willing to admit then that a conspiracy does or did exist?

Mr. ALEXANDER. No; I simply stated a very simple fact, that Mr. Wheeler is a man who has a job out here of interviewing informers, that is all I said.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. The Chair will state that Mr. Wheeler has the job of interviewing witnesses.

Mr. ALEXANDER. This is the incident. I have stated what this scurrilous attack was, that it went over the air, that there was a vast publicity in the newspapers about it, and this was the incident, that as I was leaving this hearing room on Monday, the day that Taylor testified to this, I met Mr. Wheeler going down the stairs, and going down the stairs to the street, Mr. Wheeler said this rather surprising thing; he said, "Alexander, Taylor represents you as a very moral man." That was precisely Mr. Wheeler's statement.

Now, what I am interested in, how under oath Taylor could throw over the air a scurrilous attack on me of exactly the opposite nature, and that he would say to Mr. Wheeler confidentially that I am a moral man, a very moral man.

Now, what I want to do, Mr. Jackson, you can resolve this and it is important in this matter, I would like you to ask Mr. Wheeler to take this chair for a moment and explain this contradiction, why Mr. Taylor says to him in confidence that I am moral, and he says over the air that I am immoral.

Mr. JACKSON. The matter of your morality is not directly related to the chain of questioning that is presently being conducted by counsel. The matter of perjury, or anything else of a legal nature must be decided in some other forum than this. I wish that you would proceed with the introduction of such evidence as you have which will demonstrate that perjury has been committed, if it has.

Mr. ALEXANDER. May I ask you, Mr. Jackson, that you do not wish Mr. Wheeler to testify?

Mr. JACKSON. Not at this time, no.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Just as an introduction, I would like to ask Mr. Tavenner a single question.

Mr. JACKSON. That request is also denied.

Mr. ALEXANDER. It is very important to this case.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. It is still denied.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Then I will make it as a statement: That Mr. Tavenner presented at this hearing a whole handful of photostatic copies which indicated that he had used the State and Government in a broad investigation in regard to the matter of Mr. Henry Weihe. He presented one after another of those documents and showed them to me on a matter that had occurred 13 to 16 years ago.

Now, when I was served my subpoena by Mr. Wheeler, I asked him specifically if he could tell me what the charges would be, and Mr. Wheeler said, "Oh"—I remember the exact words—he said, "I can't do that, but they are going to say that you are a member of the Communist Party, you know." Those were exactly his words.

Now, why, Mr. Tavenner, if you wish to get at the truth in a matter that involved all these papers, 13 to 16 years ago, why wasn't I in-

formed that this was to be brought up so that I could renew my memory in the matter and bring the proper papers to this committee here? Didn't you act as a prosecutor?

Mr. TAVENNER. Weren't you—

Mr. JACKSON. Counsel will suspend. Counsel is directed by the Chair not to place himself in the position of being interrogated, and the Chair specifically directs he is not to answer any questions but is to direct questions to the witness relative to this matter.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Well, I will go into it very directly. I wish to give you the full facts. If you have them—do you have those papers with you, Mr. Tavenner? I will be very glad to look at them one at a time. I will be very glad to glance at them and tell you whether my signature is on them, whether they are real or whether they are false. If you don't have those papers with you, I will assume, provided they don't contradict anything in the evidence of the papers I will show, that they are correct.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that this witness do that which he said he was going to do, produce the documents to show that the testimony of Dan Taylor, and the records we have, were perjured.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Very well.

Mr. DOYLE. This is not to be a rehash of day before yesterday's witnesses. Produce your documents. They are the best evidence before any group that wants to know the facts.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Very well. I will start in on the evidence.

In July 1938 Mr. Henry Weihe, a man of approximately 76 years, an elderly man, a resident of San Diego, gave me twenty-four thousand—not ten thousand—\$24,576.70. This represented about, I think, almost totally all that he owned.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that in cash?

Mr. ALEXANDER. No; I will come to that, what it was in.

Mr. JACKSON. The question is, was it in cash?

Mr. ALEXANDER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. What type of securities was it in?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Well, I will go to that first, then, if you want it that way.

Long before I knew Mr. Weihe he had invested in the gold-bond series of the Bank of Foreign Trade at Moscow. At the time that he made the investment, to the best of my knowledge, although I did not know him at the time, it was paying 10 percent interest. Now, it was not an odd thing for this investment to be paid. I suppose that hundreds of thousands of American citizens invested in that bond issue, and I would like to wager that among them were many Republicans, because I think the left-wingers and the Republicans, the left-wingers like Mr. Weihe, and the Republicans, felt more assured of the stability of the Soviet Union, one through hope and the other through fear, than the middle people. The middle people expected to hear every morning a frightful detonation in that direction.

But anyway, Mr. Weihe, a left-winger, had confidence and he put it there at 10 percent. That is where the money was. And a legal transfer of the money to me was made. It was really in bonds. It wasn't cash. The value as given by the Bank of Foreign Trade was \$24,576.70.

Now, you may wonder right away, and I don't blame you in the least, that an elderly man giving to a middle-aged man this sum of



money, if he had not been defrauded, if I had not issued pressure on him, if he had been protected, whether his heirs had been protected.

Taylor in his testimony said that his heirs were victimized; that was essentially his testimony.

I will state now he had absolutely no legal guarantee in regard to this. It was a gift, and I protected him only at the time in filing a will which, if I should predecease him, this money would go to him through inheritance. The agreement was entirely a verbal agreement.

The verbal agreement was this: That I would use this money for purposes of interests of the working class and toward the collective ownership of the means of production, and that I would protect his daughter. Those were the agreements.

Now, rather than my urging him to do it, it was—I should mention right now I told him, too—it wasn't a matter of high pressure; it was a conversation. I told him, too, that at any time that he wanted the money back all he would have to do is to mention it, he would get it back in part or he would get it back in whole. I would just think a man wasn't in a competent state of mind to do that, but as it turned out it seems that his judgment in this investment and his confidence were very well founded. The real truth is that, as these documents will show, he decided for reasons, which I am perfectly willing to give, to have the money back, first part of it and then all of it, and I engaged in correspondence for him to the end of getting it back. I have the itemized statement here signed by him, which his banks can confirm, showing not a generalized statement of the return, but an itemized statement of the banks in which it was, the dates that it was transferred to him, and the entries in the banks under his name in which it was put. I did not consider, despite there being no legal provision, that this was other than a trust, and that is exactly how I observed it.

In one of these letters that Mr. Weihe wrote to me for protection, he states, and I am going to read it to you, that it was he who urged me, and he wants it on record that it was he who urged me to do it. I would not take one penny of this money; I never took one penny of his money. I never charged him 1 cent, and there is one thing more I want to say.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt you there.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any arrangement with the Communist Party functionaries as to what use should be made of that money if you procured it?

Mr. ALEXANDER. No; absolutely not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you use it for Communist Party purposes in any manner?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I certainly did not. The only time was an investment—I will have to go into that a little. When the money was in my name—in the first place, I want to show you the type of letters that came, if anyone thinks that this is a conspiratorial matter. They came to a box number, Box 2121, San Diego, which was my box number. They came with Bank of Foreign Trade and a lot of very conspicuous stamps, registered, with the Bank of Foreign Trade spread across the top of all of the envelopes.

Mr. Tavenner, you asked whether the Sterling was correct, Alexander C. Sterling. Most of these letters came correctly, Sterling C.

Alexander, but one of these was simply a clerical error. What did you do about it, open my mail and get a photostat?

Mr. JACKSON. Wait just a moment. May the Chair ask whether or not these documents and all this material was in the possession of the witness on day before yesterday?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Why were the statements not made at that time? Why was not this information introduced at the time this matter was originally under discussion?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I tried to explain it very carefully to you just a few minutes ago, Mr. Jackson. I said when I inquired of Mr. Wheeler if he would specify what was to be raised, he refused to give me that information. I had no idea such a thing, I hadn't thought of the things for years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Excuse me a minute. Weren't you invited to confer with counsel or the staff before your testimony when Mr. Wheeler served the subpoena on you?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I will tell you frankly, I would ask Mr. Wheeler if that was so. I don't recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. You don't recall?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I don't recall that happening, I do not.

Mr. JACKSON. Are you so informed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I would like to ask Mr. Wheeler if he did. I don't recall. I think when I did, he said, "Well, that is all right." I think he said, "I am sorry." I think that is the remark he made. Wasn't that right, Mr. Wheeler?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel, is it the information of counsel that an invitation was extended?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; that is the information I have.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, that is the established policy of your investigators, and every witness when he is subpoenaed by our staff, so far as I know, from my inquiries on the committee has received an invitation to confer with the staff if he so desires before the hearing.

Mr. ALEXANDER. If that is true, I do not want to misrepresent Mr. Wheeler in any way, and I will not state positively.

Mr. TAVENNER. You said you did not remember whether he did or not.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I know there was something said, a word or two, and if it was said, and I think something was said, I don't remember exactly what it was, it was just a few words, but any information about discussion with the committee, not a word was said about that, if I remember.

Mr. JACKSON. To return to the matter of documentation you brought with you this morning, I do not recall in your testimony the other day that any mention was made of the fact that you had this documentation, or that you would present it upon the request of the committee or that the testimony relative to this matter by Mr. Taylor was perjured. I seem to recall a wall of silence relative to this matter, and I am very naturally wondering why mention was not made on the day before yesterday that you were in a position to fully document your transactions and your relations with Mr. Weihe.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I would be very glad to explain that to you, Mr. Jackson, so you will understand.



Mr. JACKSON. I should be glad to have you. I think it calls for some explanation.

Mr. ALEXANDER. In the first place, the transactions to which the documents refer were 13 to 16 years back. Your mind, in a thing being sprung at a hearing of this type, doesn't instantly go back and pick up all this information.

There was a second reason: That I was standing on justified constitutional grounds that you should not pry into my political or religious beliefs, or my opinions. I considered that it was violating my constitutional right, and consequently I stood on it.

But in thinking it over, although I think it was a correct position in regard to constitutional rights, I do think it would have been better to present this evidence, but as a matter of fact I did not have the evidence with me, not knowing that it was to be raised, and I could not possibly see how you can claim this is an investigation after facts when I am not informed of a major investigation on a certain point, and I have no opportunity to bring the evidence to this hearing.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest this to this witness. You brought your file with you this morning. Now, the first thing you said was you had the documents here with you.

Mr. ALEXANDER. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. Now, I suggest, Mr. Chairman, the witness be urged again to produce these documents to show Mr. Daniel Taylor's testimony is perjured. That is what you first stated when you came here. Now, please do it.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. We have already taken an hour, and we want to give you an opportunity, but not an unreasonable amount of time, because we have other things to do.

Mr. JACKSON. The Chair concurs, and the witness will proceed with the documentation of his case.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I should explain that Mr. Weihe had asked an attorney in Los Angeles to represent him in this matter, Mr. Leo Gallagher, an attorney. This is a letter in Mr. Weihe's handwriting, one and a quarter pages, written from his residence, 1205 18th Street, San Diego, California, dated October 30, 1939.

Mr. TAVENNER. To whom is the letter addressed?

Mr. ALEXANDER. It is addressed to Sterling C. Alexander.

Now, as to the validity of the handwriting, I can give you the banks where Mr. Weihe banked and the signature and the writing can be confirmed.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I think it should be understood by the witness that any document he refers to will, of course, be offered for filing in this matter.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I am very glad to give you these, but first to protect myself, in view of what has happened, I wish photostatic copies. I will give you the photostatic copies. I will be very glad to do it.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. We will be happy to receive them.

Mr. ALEXANDER. This is the letter [reading]:

DEAR AL: I have just written Leo Gallagher about the reinvestment of the 25,000 rubles, and I thought it best for you too to have record of my instructions in this matter. So this is to record that I have instructed you to reinvest the 25,000 rubles which were drawn in the first redemption drawing of the second 7 percent five year loan issue of the first year in the so-called fixed term deposit

act of the Bank of Foreign Trade bearing 4 percent interest and having a 1 year withdrawal clause, and once again I make record that you are to make upon my death precisely the same disposal of the money in your name and ownership in the Bank of Foreign Trade as I previously instructed you. I am now very anxious to leave everything so you will have no trouble.

He was a very farsighted man, and I thank him very much.

So I want to leave this record that you agree to personally accept the job of taking ownership of my money so as to be able to at once carry out my wishes upon my death only when I insisted that you take the job—

Does that sound like the testimony of Dan Taylor, that went over the air?

MR. DOYLE. That is the best evidence of what it sounds like. Go ahead.

MR. ALEXANDER (continuing to read) :

to do the things I wanted to have done, one of which I think I already wrote you about.

First, you never in any way influenced me or attempted to influence me in the matter of what I should do with the money.

Second, you never have accepted anything whatever from me, either small or large.

With best regards to you,

HENRY WEIHE.

MR. DOYLE. May I see the letter, please?

MR. ALEXANDER. Sure.

MR. JACKSON. May I say to the witness, I do not want to in any way limit a full presentation of his case, but we must set some limits upon this, inasmuch as we have other witnesses whom the committee must hear before it adjourns. I will say this so the witness may be advised to be selective in the choice of the documents he wishes to introduce. We will conclude this matter promptly at 10 o'clock. That will give 25 minutes for the further presentation.

MR. ALEXANDER. I should state a little as an explanation of what happened that although when Mr. Weihe prior to my knowing him invested in the Bank of Foreign Trade, he was drawing 10 percent, he received letters from the bank, and I in turn received them when the money was in my name, of a progressively shocking economic nature. First, the reduction to 7 percent as the series elapsed. They paid everything they owed, but it was reduced to 7 percent, then 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, and I finally have a letter here, which I will be glad to read if you want, in which they say, "The funds invested in such a series will hereafter bring 0.00 percent." So in view of this Mr. Weihe asked me to withdraw the money; he wanted a sound investment that brought him an income, and he made an arrangement with the People's World, that is, it was in my name, but it was under his direction—I have the papers here directing me in respect to it—to invest \$10,000, and the People's World agreed to pay him 6 percent on the investment. It was a chattel mortgage on the equipment of the People's World.

MR. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I submit the original document should now be produced. He has referred to an original document between this gentleman who died and the People's World, and that manifestly is the best evidence, without the comments of this witness. I am only saying that to expedite the matter and try to help you get the time to present by 10 o'clock all your evidence.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I apparently have overlooked bringing it, but I am willing to produce it for the committee. Oh, here it is. Here it is. 1205 18th Street, December 11, San Diego, Calif.

Mr. DOYLE. December 11, what year, please?

Mr. ALEXANDER. 1939.

STERLING C. ALEXANDER.

DEAR AL: Please write to the Bank of Foreign Trade, Moscow, and draw \$10,000 of the money in your ownership.

Although I don't have the People's World letter, and I don't even know if I possess that, I see it was a little more by indirection.

Mr. DOYLE. Where is that People's World letter, please? We want that.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I say I am not sure.

Mr. DOYLE. Where did you last have it, please? You referred to it and said you had it in your possession there. Now, where is it?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I thought that I had that letter.

Mr. DOYLE. Where did you last have it?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Will you let me finish, please?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, I will, of course.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I thought I had that letter, and apparently in thinking so I referred to this letter instead, which is an indication to that transaction, but I will state under oath that upon the arrival of the \$10,000 Mr. Weihe made an arrangement with the People's World—the money was in my name—for a chattel mortgage on the equipment of the People's World, and the People's World agreed to pay 6 percent interest annually.

Mr. DOYLE. Was that in writing, that arrangement with the People's World?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Oh, yes, it was an entirely legal arrangement.

Mr. DOYLE. I submit, Mr. Chairman, the witness ought to be directed to submit that original document within the next day or two.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I don't really know if I can get it, but, however, I have the statement of Mr. Weihe in reference to it.

Mr. JACKSON. Is the committee in possession of a photostat of that document?

Mr. TAVENNER. We introduced in evidence a copy of the chattel mortgage, and also the release of it, so it is merely a repetition of that part of it.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I submit there was a written agreement, according to this witness, between the People's World and Mr. Weihe, and if so, I want the agreement out of which grew the chattel mortgage.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Congressman, if you have limited me to 10 o'clock, which is in 20 minutes, I do not see how we can get to it.

Mr. JACKSON. That observation is a reasonable one and we will try not to interrupt.

Mr. ALEXANDER. The final disposition of the loan to the People's World was that Mr. Weihe received one thousand—and I have a paper which I will read, it is inclusive with other material—he received \$1,050 interest from this amount and the full principal was returned to me.

Now, there is one thing that I have not stated. In all of these amounts, Mr. Weihe always received all interest. This is itemized



here in a general statement signed by him. He received all interest. I never received a penny of interest. The arrangement with the Bank of Foreign Trade, on my instruction, was that the interest should be sent to Mr. Weihe directly, and it was. I think there were two instances where, by mistake, they sent them to me, and in this itemized statement signed by him, it is stated exactly what was done with them, where they were put. I even endorsed "Payable to Mr. Weihe only," to Henry Weihe only.

I think, now as I have so little time, I will read this itemized statement with Mr. Henry Weihe's signature. [Reading:]

I, Henry Weihe, December 1, 1941—

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest to the witness, who has so limited time, if you have other documents, we can examine that and will, naturally, assume it is what it shows on its face.

Mr. ALEXANDER. This is an essential one; I would like to read it, if you don't mind.

Mr. DOYLE. All right.

Mr. ALEXANDER (reading):

1205 18TH STREET, SAN DIEGO, CALIF., December 1, 1941.

I, Henry Weihe, wish to place on record that Sterling C. Alexander has fulfilled all agreements between us; that he has returned to me all that I gave him—

I will go into it if you want why this was done—

as I requested him to do, and that I have always received all interest on the principal while it was in his name.

The full amount which I gave him was \$24,576.70. This was in July 1938. His return to me of the principal on my request was as follows:

1. \$1,600 from the Bank of Foreign Trade on my request of Mr. Alexander on his order that account 4595 in his name be sent directly to me. This account was for \$2,456.70. The difference between the \$1,600 principal and the \$2,456.70, which I received, was interest due and deposited by Mr. Alexander on my request in this account.

On May 31, 1939, I deposited the \$2,456.70 in Savings Account No. 78631 in the First National Trust and Savings Bank, San Diego.

2. \$13,014.62, by check from Sterling C. Alexander to me, dated November 13, 1941, on the Bank of America, San Diego. I deposited this check on November 14, 1941, in a checking account in the First National Trust and Savings Bank, San Diego.

3. \$10,072 by my check from Sterling Alexander to me dated November 28, 1941, on the Bank of America, San Diego, and deposited by me the same day in my checking account in the First National Bank, San Diego.

As to the interest on the principal, while it was in Mr. Alexander's name I always received all interest and all interest came directly to me in my name and to my home, with the following exceptions:

1. The difference between the \$1,600 principal and the \$2,456.70 I specifically asked Sterling Alexander to deposit was assigned to me, the \$1,600 on Mr. Alexander's order when I requested.

2. \$21.46 quarterly interest check April 16, 1940, on the bond then remaining in Account No. 1951, sent by the Bank of Foreign Trades by mistake to Mr. Alexander instead of directly to me and endorsed by Mr. Alexander to me when he received it.

3. Final quarterly interest check for \$150 on a \$10,000 mortgage representing a change of investment on my request, which was due November 14, 1941, was paid by check to Mr. Alexander. It was endorsed paid to Henry Weihe only by Mr. Alexander on November 21, 1941, and deposited by me in my checking account in the First National Trust and Savings Bank, San Diego, on November 28.

Sterling Alexander has never received an interest check in his name except the \$21.46 and the \$150 as in 2 and 3 above.

On the \$10,000 mortgage I received—  
that is People's World mortgage—

\$1,050 interest for the period from February 14, 1940, to November 14, 1941, seven quarterly payments of \$150 each.

All these payments, except the last, as explained above, were paid directly to me by check on the Citizens National Trust and Savings Bank, Los Angeles.

(Signed) HENRY WEIHE.

Now, as I have only a few minutes, I wish to simply state, and I hope I won't be interrupted in this, when you are prosecuted without due process what happened in these records are inevitable. These records are diametrically opposed to the truth, and the publicity that went out on the air was a rotten smear.

Now, as this has occurred with me, it has occurred with many witnesses.

Mr. JACKSON. I will ask the witness to suspend. If he wishes to continue with his documentation, we will give him every opportunity. If he insists upon his unfounded charges that the committee has smeared him, if he insists that the committee prosecuted him without due process of law, the Chair will have only one alternative, and that is to suspend further testimony of the witness.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I will say, Mr. Jackson, that both are true and overwhelmingly true.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well, the witness is excused from further testimony.

Call your next witness, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Ernestine Gatewood.

### TESTIMONY OF ERNESTINE GATEWOOD

Mr. JACKSON. Will you raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give before the subcommittee you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God.

Miss GATEWOOD. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Miss GATEWOOD. Ernestine Gatewood.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you appear here pursuant to a subpoena or are you appearing before the committee voluntarily?

Miss GATEWOOD. Voluntarily.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted that you are not accompanied by counsel. You are entitled to have counsel with you and to consult counsel at any time you desire.

Miss GATEWOOD. I didn't think that it would be necessary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Inasmuch as you desire to appear before the committee voluntarily, will you state to the committee, please, just for what purpose you desire to appear?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes. There are many people who know, I am sure, and many who don't know that at one time I was a member of the Communist Party, but I am not now. I want to make it absolutely plain that I am not, and to try to elucidate from there.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you a member of the Communist Party?

Miss GATEWOOD. I entered the Communist Party approximately 1948.



Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, how you became a member, the circumstances under which you became a member?

Miss GATEWOOD. Well, it was around a minority group problem and I was terribly interested, and always have been, in problems of minority groups, so that was my entry into the party. I asked to become a member of the Communist Party, incidentally. I thought that here was an organization which was, I imagined, going to work miracles overnight, so to speak, and I wanted to become a part of such an organization if it could be done that quickly.

There was an awful lot of hard work and more of regimentation, as I found out later on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall who was the party you came in contact with in becoming a party member?

Miss GATEWOOD. The Logan Heights Branch of the Communist Party in San Diego.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall who within the branch you consulted about becoming a member?

Miss GATEWOOD. Enos Baker. I can't say whether he was in the branch itself or that he had overall charge of Communist Party activities in San Diego.

Mr. TAVENNER. You state that it was because of your interest in minority problems which took you into the Communist Party?

Miss GATEWOOD. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What took you out of the Communist Party?

Miss GATEWOOD. Lip service, and no practical application of the lip service took me out.

Mr. TAVENNER. Explain a little more fully what you mean.

Miss GATEWOOD. In theory the Communist Party, as I understand it, advocates equality, social, economic, for minority groups, that they are going to work very hard to see that that becomes a reality. There is so much running around and so much theorizing about this thing, so much lopping off of people who don't agree with every little detail, that I came to the conclusion that this wasn't the place for me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you conclude that they had some other motives besides attempting to aid in the solution of the problem of discrimination?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes; I think this, that—well, there are an awful lot of people who hand down directives in the Communist Party who are psychologically or, you know, way off the beam, and it is sort of sadistic pleasure they get from sort of directing people below and running around like ants and distributing this and that and the other things secretly. I just felt that I didn't want to remain a participant of such an organization any longer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you assigned any particular job within the Communist Party, or any particular work?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes. I remember a specific task that I had, to assist in organizing branch clubs in the Logan Heights area. There wasn't too good a job done. There are only so many people, I imagine, who want to be foolish enough to become a member of the Communist Party, so there wasn't too fine a job done there.

Mr. TAVENNER. From whom did you receive your directions to do that organization work?

Miss GATEWOOD. Let's see. As I recall vaguely, it came from Evelyn Ackerstein.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were efforts made to instruct you in Communist doctrines, that is, the principles of Leninism and Marxism?

Miss GATEWOOD. When I first joined the party there was a new members class set up for joiners, a 3-week period—I think it had been a 6- or 10-week period class, but because they wanted to rush us into the field, as it were, it had been cut down. So that was the only schooling period actually, actual schooling period that I had.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become associated in any way with the work of the Communist Party with Bernadette Doyle?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes; very definitely in San Diego. I think it was after Enos Baker left and Bernadette Doyle came down I became acquainted with her and worked under Bernadette indirectly most of the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she give you any directions as to the fields in which you should work in the Communist Party?

Miss GATEWOOD. I don't remember that I ever had any specific directives from Bernadette in that regard, but indirectly it came from her because she had overall responsibility for Communist Party members in San Diego. I was as a Negro and as a wonderful front to the organization being groomed for a leadership position. That was from the beginning to almost the end when I started participating actively myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of the general instructions that you got as to your participation in the work of the party which you said indirectly came from Bernadette Doyle?

Miss GATEWOOD. Well, because the Negro membership was so relatively small here I don't think there was ever a time when the members of the Communist Party went out on a mobilization that Negro members weren't along. It just wasn't the thing for it to be an all white mobilization. So in that respect mobilization and General Jimmie Higgins' work was the first rung of the ladder. You had to do that if you were one of the masses before you could become a person placed in a leadership position.

Mr. TAVENNER. I note that you say there were not many Negroes who became members of the Communist Party.

Miss GATEWOOD. I didn't know. There might have been a few more that I didn't see, but it was fairly small.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any reason for that?

Miss GATEWOOD. I think basically Negroes are pretty busy, you know, taking care of their own affairs, and if at some time the Communist Party happens to do something sensational, then it calls it to the attention of Negro people, whom I am sure are all of them very interested in their problems as Americans, of course.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not the Communist Party was continuously seeking out issues to raise among the various groups in the community which they could utilize to increase the membership of the party?

Miss GATEWOOD. Well, very definitely. Well, practically all members of the Communist Party, if they are good Communists, scan very closely newspapers, and we are constantly on the alert, either from reading the newspapers or by coming in contact with other people as to some act of brutality that had occurred, and if it was something that we could sink our teeth into and really make it a very sensational sort of thing, that is what happened, and that is

the thing that actually brought the Communist Party to the attention and kept it alive, as far as the layman was concerned, the non-Communist, that we were constantly seeking these things out trying to find out what had happened, if there had been an act of brutality committed, and if so, especially if it wasn't between two individuals. If the police force or any other body of that kind had been involved, it was always a good issue.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have an organized system of learning about such instances?

Miss GATEWOOD. Well, I don't know how, but there were many—

Mrs. TAVENNER. I have heard, for instance, that a clipping service was maintained.

Miss GATEWOOD. That is it. This scanning of the newspaper, that was a ritual. It was an everyday, everyweek occurrence that the newspapers were to be gone through thoroughly to sort of canvass for this sort of thing.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did you conclude from your experience in the Communist Party that it was sincerely motivated by a desire to be of real help to the minority groups?

Miss GATEWOOD. Maybe fundamentally as it was set up to begin with, that might have been the motivation, but I sincerely believe from having been a Communist, there is so much internal strife within the Communist Party, there is tattling, there is stool-pigeoning, if I might use the word.

Mr. DOYLE. You don't mean within the Communist Party there is stool-pigeoning?

Miss GATEWOOD. Well, I haven't belonged to any other organizations other than those that have been Communist dominated, and the Communist Party itself. We who were in the Communist Party—I know there were a lot of us, I can't speak for all of them, because there are some very hard core Communists in the Communist Party, but to the people, who are like myself, who far outnumber the hard core Communists, we were afraid most of the time to express ourselves freely because we didn't want it to get back to the section organizer. If we wanted to criticize the section organizer, I know it has been done many times and the reprimand has been very severe, because it was done. For instance, in clubs, if there was to be an expulsion, it was rigged, it was set up before. These things are always discussed before a general meeting, so that the voting, you can cast your vote as you should cast it, and if you don't, then you are either placed under a controlled task or you are just expelled, you are just put out, you know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have occasion during your experience in the Communist Party to learn there was in existence what was known as a professional group of the party?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes, I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee any and all information you have regarding a professional group?

Miss GATEWOOD. Well, the professional group as set up was composed of people who were in the professions, as it were, newspaper people, secretaries, those bordering on scientists, anyone who wasn't a common laborer would sort of fall into the professional category.

Mr. TAVENNER. That would include white collar workers?

Miss GATEWOOD. That is right.



Mr. TAVENNER. So-called?

Miss GATEWOOD. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have occasion to learn the membership of that group?

Miss GATEWOOD. In San Diego I remember a few people who were part of the group. There was——

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you first, how were you able to know that they were members of that group?

Miss GATEWOOD. Because I was a part of it myself at one time.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. I know counsel will instruct the witness to not name anyone unless she under oath knows she can positively identify such person.

Miss GATEWOOD. I don't intend to. I wouldn't want that placed on me.

Mr. DOYLE. I realize that, and we don't want it either.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well.

Miss GATEWOOD. Jeff Boehm; I can't remember Crittenden's first name, Wilma Crittenden, Lynn Ackerstein, myself, and at the moment other names sort of escape me. But it was a relatively small group.

Mr. DOYLE. As many as 8 or 10? Not more?

Miss GATEWOOD. Well, I imagine that there was. The attendance was so sort of on again off again that they never attended at one time, but I imagine it was approximately 8 or 10 people. That was a pretty large group, though.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any experience within the IPP of a Communist character?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes, in this regard: At IPP meetings Communist Party discussion was not present, but the Communists who were members of the IPP, after meetings naturally would discuss IPP affairs. At Communist Party meetings, however, the IPP was discussed, and naturally it would have been, because in San Diego, Lynn Ackerstein, who headed the IPP here, was a member of the Communist Party. So naturally it was necessary for her to confer with the top level Communist who was in San Diego, or Communists, in order to direct her work and activity in party channels.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain active in the Communist Party in San Diego?

Miss GATEWOOD. Well, I will say all of 1948. I am not quite sure when I joined. About 8 months, I imagine, 7 or 8 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then where did you go from there?

Miss GATEWOOD. I went to San Francisco in 1949, January of 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you active in the Communist Party in San Francisco?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. For how long a period of time?

Miss GATEWOOD. Approximately 2 years, I would say, actually active.

Mr. TAVENNER. How is that?

Miss GATEWOOD. Approximately 2 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any discussion with Bernadette Doyle, or any other high functionary in the Communist Party, prior to your going to San Francisco?

Miss GATEWOOD. I don't remember it. I know that I did, because my contact came from Bernadette Doyle.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean after arriving in San Francisco?

Miss GATEWOOD. Before leaving San Diego, I know I had a discussion with Bernadette Doyle, because my contact came from Bernadette Doyle. I don't remember the actual meeting with her, but I know it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of your conference with the contact from Bernadette Doyle, do you recall?

Miss GATEWOOD. Well, vaguely I do, yes; that I was to be placed in a club as soon as I settle my residence, you know, secured a permanent residence, and I was to keep in contact with her, and that was about it, and she would let me know when I was to be placed in an area.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did your work in the Communist Party have anything to do with your going to San Francisco?

Miss GATEWOOD. Not directly in the sense of being direct. I felt that because of the publicity that had surrounded me and my work and my activity in the IPP, as a member of the Communist Party, it was sort of one and the same thing, that it would be terribly difficult for me to secure any kind of work in San Diego unless I falsified myself on the job application, so I decided to go to a larger city where I might not be so conspicuous. So that was my motivation for leaving San Diego.

Mr. TAVENNER. What became your chief activities in the Communist Party in San Francisco?

Miss GATEWOOD. Well, attending classes mostly. I worked very irregular hours at the California Labor School, and the whole time I was there, with the exception of a couple of weeks, I didn't attend party club meetings?

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you affiliated with the Civil Rights Congress in San Francisco?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee briefly about that?

Miss GATEWOOD. I can't remember. Members of the Communist Party are expected to be members of Communist-front organizations naturally, and to bring in like people or non-Communists. It swells the organization. The directions come from Communists until such time as they feel the non-Communist is ready to become a full-fledged Communist, or they will let themselves be directed, and it doesn't matter whether they are or they aren't. So I became a member of the Civil Rights Congress around some minority issue, I can't remember what, but I have always worked, always did work very closely with the head of CRC, and as I before stated, the fine line of demarcation just isn't there; there was such an overlapping.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you observe any particular activity of the Communist Party within labor unions or within the field of labor generally?

Miss GATEWOOD. Well, only in my very small union, and it was controlled by the Communist Party. A member of the Communist Party was its secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. What union was that?

Miss GATEWOOD. The United Office and Professional Workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the person who was secretary and who was a member of the Communist Party, do you recall?



Miss GATEWOOD. Marian Sanjines.

Mr. TAVENNER. Spell it, please.

Miss GATEWOOD. S-a-n-j-i-n-e-s. The membership of our local was so small and there were so few who weren't members of the Communist Party that it was ineffective.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you employed at that time? Were you a member of this local union, United Office and Professional Workers Union?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you employed?

Miss GATEWOOD. In 1949, from 1949 to the latter part of 1951 I worked for the California Labor School as registrar, secretary from—

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt you there. Did your membership in the Communist Party have anything to do with your obtaining that position?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes, it did very definitely. My contact recommended me to the director of the labor school. The director in turn checked on my party affiliation through Bernadette Doyle, and it took 2 or 3 days, and I was employed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well now. Will you go on with your other employment?

Miss GATEWOOD. Well, for 2 months—let's see, the early part of 1952, I imagine, I worked for the Community Chest 2 months. In April of 1952 I went to work for the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of your employment there?

Miss GATEWOOD. I was clerk-typist there for a year, and then assistant research associate, and I terminated my work at the ILWU July 15, 1953, at their request, I might add.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the reason for that request, if it was not personal?

Miss GATEWOOD. No, it wasn't personal. I think it is very general and a very specific thing. Upon going to the ILWU I had been made very welcome. I, in turn, intended to study—I studied with the intention of up-grading myself. There was a constant turnover at the ILWU. I imagine I had been there a year and a half and had worked from one position to another, and I felt that I was ready for a real top level position. They gave me a trial run on the job for supposedly 4 weeks, but it ran into 8 weeks. The secretary-treasurer of the ILWU at that point didn't feel that I was capable of handling the job. We went into very lengthy discussion on this 2 or 3 times, at which time I sort of voiced my views, which went something like this, that the ILWU as set up and as they intended to practice their philosophy and ideals, were naturally for upgrading Negroes. That was the hue and cry at all times. Immediately upon upgrading myself or trying to upgrade myself the secretary-treasurer didn't feel that I could possibly handle the job. There had been one other in the history of office workers at the ILWU who had been a secretary, so naturally that wasn't much of a precedent to have been established, and this just couldn't happen.

I was also accused of stealing. Later their attorney told me that it was just impossible, no one thought that I had taken anything, but

they had to get rid of the bad apple in the barrel, and that is the way they did it.

So my termination was the 15th of July, 1953.

Mr. TAVENNER. That marked the termination of your membership in the Communist Party?

Miss GATEWOOD. No, that occurred a year before.

Mr. TAVENNER. A year before?

Miss GATEWOOD. That is right, or a year and a half before.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you were a member of the Communist Party when you obtained the position in the ILWU?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did your membership in the Communist Party play any part in your selection for a position with the ILWU, in the first place?

Miss GATEWOOD. Well, I sort of think so, because when I was interviewed for the job there was a member of the Communist Party who had a very top level position in the department that I was to work in, and I am pretty sure that having talked to her, that she in turn talked to the head of the department, and I thereby secured this position.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did this Communist Party member know of your Communist Party membership?

Miss GATEWOOD. Oh, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was her name?

Miss GATEWOOD. Helen Bender.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then some time later you dropped out of the Communist Party, and then you had your trouble within the ILWU?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what you know about Communist Party activities within the ILWU?

Miss GATEWOOD. I don't think that there are 3 staunch members of the Communist Party working at the ILWU. There were when I left very lukewarm members of the Communist Party. In so far as they could hold their jobs it was all right with them to be members of the Communist Party, and this has been stated to me by 2 or 3 persons at the ILWU, that it was expedient they be members of the Communist Party in order to hold their jobs. Now, from talking to the secretary-treasurer and my department head, my former department head, they are at the ILWU concentrating on evicting progressives and members of the Communist Party from the ILWU, if they can find out who they are, and it is not too hard a task to do so, because it is overrun with progressives. It is a very close tightly knit little office staff there. No non-Communist—well, it is very hard for them to get into the ILWU.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is hard for whom to get in?

Miss GATEWOOD. For a non-Communist to become a member of the office staff at the ILWU.

Mr. TAVENNER. Possibly I misunderstood you. I thought you said an effort was being made to expel Communist members of the staff.

Miss GATEWOOD. Well, that was my understanding from two people in top level positions there.

Mr. TAVENNER. The two things seem inconsistent, if it is hard for a non-Communist to get on the staff and yet they are trying to expel Communists from it; the two things seem inconsistent.

Miss GATEWOOD. Let me make myself clear.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you will make yourself plain about that, please.

Miss GATEWOOD. Mostly, most all of the office staff at the ILWU are members of the Communist Party. Now, it is felt by the persons in authority who hire and fire that this situation has prevailed long enough, that the girls, office girls aren't there 15 minutes before they feel that they have the run of the place, that they can tell the officers what is to be done, that they don't like this or that or the other thing. They feel, and they have the protection of the Communist Party to keep them in these positions, as long as they are party members, you see, and it is a relatively hard thing for a non-Communist to secure a position at the ILWU. At the same time they want non-Communists now because they feel that it would be, as it is in private industry, that a person is there 8 hours a day to do a job, and they are not going to try to tell the boss what to do.

Mr. TAVENNER. Oh, I understand; in order to get a more efficient organization they should have non-Communists?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes; efficient in this sense, that they mind their own business. They have efficient people there, but it is just that they have the protection of the party.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, the Communist Party was managing the office force.

Miss GATEWOOD. No; I wouldn't say that, because Louis Goldblatt had overall responsibility for the ILWU. for the international office, and I don't know Lou as a Communist, but I do know that people who are one position down from top level jobs there are Communists, and it makes for a very closely knit sort of office staff.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, the girls on the office staff did about as they pleased because they were members of the Communist Party.

Miss GATEWOOD. Well, they did sort of flaunt responsibility and authority at times.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, if they wanted to work they worked, and if they didn't, they didn't?

Miss GATEWOOD. No; I will have to clarify this, because it is not that. Precision was expected or is expected at the ILWU. They get very close to it, but there are certain liberties that are taken there. We might go off and stay a little longer than we should on a lunch hour, for instance, or we might tell an officer off, and a person who probably isn't a member of the Communist Party would tell an officer off and resign, but we would tell them off and know we were going to stay. So that becomes a little hard to take, you see.

Mr. DOYLE. Then my assumption was pretty accurate, that the Communist Party was bossing the office.

Miss GATEWOOD. Maybe as you see it. I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee what led up to your withdrawal from the Communist Party?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes, I will try. For some time prior to my termination in the Communist Party I had become pretty bitter and pretty disillusioned and pretty darn mad. I had seen many people whom I love very much expelled and just lopped off from membership in the Communist Party. The degree of discussion that led up to their expulsion was such that it demoralized them mentally and physically. They were just total wrecks, some of these people, for months on end. It was terribly difficult when they did finally get themselves together to secure employment.



I might add this, however, that it was a little easier for a white member of the Communist Party to secure work in private industry than it was for Negro members who were ex-Communists.

I haven't tried to secure work in San Diego, but I do know that in San Francisco practically every place I applied for a job I saw an old familiar face, and they are in such a position that you either get in or you don't, and if you are a member of the Communist Party, or an ex-member of the Communist Party, they whisper behind the hand, then you just don't get in, and I lived in mortal fear all the time if one job played out how in the world was I going to get another job, and that made it very, very difficult. They are just sort of all over the place. You don't go to a place of entertainment without bumping into them, and there is always more than one, and there is this discussion. You never apply for a job—at least I didn't—where I didn't meet up with one.

Mr. TAVENNER. You saw this occurring around about you?

Miss GATEWOOD. Oh, yes, I did. I certainly did, and experienced the latter statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, to what extent? I mean, were there other matters that affected your decision to withdraw from the Communist Party?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes. In addition to the lopping off and the cancellation of Lynn's membership in the Communist Party, and Jeff and Lillian Rothenberg, whom I had the utmost respect for, in their judgment, their thinking, the way they worked; it became increasingly difficult for my family to maintain any kind of family togetherness here. My party activities spilled over onto them, and I felt that it was just about time for me to get myself in hand and do something, try to—I didn't think of correcting a bad situation at the time. My first and only thought was to disassociate myself from these people immediately, which I did. Once I had spoken to the secretary organizer I considered my membership terminated, all activity, all thought, all everything that pertained to the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that occurred when, approximately?

Miss GATEWOOD. Approximately the latter part of 1951 or early part of 1952.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you had any Communist Party affiliations since then?

Miss GATEWOOD. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you have withdrawn finally and completely from the Communist Party?

Miss GATEWOOD. I certainly have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there anything else you desire to state as to why you have volunteered to appear here before the committee and give the benefit of your experience in the Communist Party?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes. I would like to try and say this, if I possibly can. Not only to Negroes, because we are not the only ones who are hoodwinked, but I think that we are more susceptible to being hoodwinked.

Mr. DOYLE. Hoodwinked by what?

Miss GATEWOOD. The ideologies, the philosophy of the Communist Party. We as Americans all have problems, some to a greater or lesser degree. I am at this point thoroughly convinced that the Com-



munist Party is not capable of settling or attempting to settle any minority group problem that comes up. They are looking for a great fanfare, and to all people who are fairly gullible or naive in any sense, it would certainly behoove them to listen to what we ex-Communists have attempted to say. It has just been a great mistake, just an awful mistake, and to whom I am going to ask forgiveness in a sense, I don't know, other than myself, because I feel that I have betrayed myself.

I have talked to many, many men who have gone from the United States and returned, and their whole discussion is "It is wonderful to see other countries, but it sort of reminds me of Chicago or New York or my home town, but there are problems in the United States, of course, but then there are problems in other countries. You have never been there, and you wouldn't want to stay if you did go."

I personally am happy to be an American. I hope that I can remake myself into the American I was before I became a member of the Communist Party.

MR. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

MR. DOYLE. May I just ask two questions before the witness is excused?

You said, in substance, or I understood you to say this, that the IPP Party and the Communist Party was one and the same thing. Now, the IPP initials that you used stand for Independent Progressive Party in California, do they not?

MISS GATEWOOD. That is right.

MR. DOYLE. And are you telling us that throughout our membership in the Communist Party and the IPP Party, those few years, that it was a fact that the Communist Party membership and the IPP controls were one and the same thing?

MISS GATEWOOD. Well, what I attempted to say was this—yes; this control of the IPP is in the hands of the Communist Party; that is very true.

MR. DOYLE. Up until the date you left the Communist Party?

MISS GATEWOOD. That is right.

MR. DOYLE. That was in California?

MISS GATEWOOD. That was in California.

MR. DOYLE. Now, you said there was a fine line of demarcation that just isn't there.

MISS GATEWOOD. There isn't.

MR. DOYLE. Between the Civil Rights Congress and the Communist Party?

MISS GATEWOOD. That is right.

MR. DOYLE. As I understand it, then, in that language you are telling us that the control of the Civil Rights Congress has been and up to the time you left, and all the time you were in the Communist Party, the Civil Rights Congress was in the hands of the Communist Party in California?

MISS GATEWOOD. It was until a few months—well, a few weeks, I imagine, before I left. Ida Rothstein, who was a member of the Communist Party, and also headed CRC, was killed. So I don't know in whose hands it is at this point.

MR. DOYLE. The last you knew it was in the control of the Communist Party, so far as the control of the CRC is concerned in California?

Miss GATEWOOD. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. You mentioned the director of the California Labor School. Was he known to you to be a Communist?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes; he was.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you give his name to counsel? I don't know.

Miss GATEWOOD. Dave Jenkins.

Mr. DOYLE. Was that at San Francisco?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. And in your judgment, to your personal knowledge, did you appraise that as a Communist front, or was it stronger than that; was it a Communist Party activity?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes. Let me say that it was stronger than a Communist-front organization.

Mr. DOYLE. I have been so advised. That is why I asked that question in that language.

I didn't hear whether or not you gave to our distinguished counsel, Mr. Tavenner, or whether he asked you the extent of your educational background. You have had some college work?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Or full college work, did you not?

Miss GATEWOOD. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you so testify?

Miss GATEWOOD. No, I didn't.

Mr. DOYLE. I didn't hear it. How many years of college or university did you have?

Miss GATEWOOD. A year and a half.

Mr. DOYLE. Now, very briefly, it must be very brief, but nevertheless I want you to know it is very sincere on behalf of the committee and the United States Congress, I want to thank you for coming this morning voluntarily and making that which is manifestly a very definite and very valuable contribution to the work of the United States Congress. You realize that this subcommittee, Mr. Jackson and I, are here representing the United States Congress, and that this committee which you have helped this morning in our official duties is a creature of the United States Congress under Public Law 601. It is not a special commission; it is not a temporary committee. It is a standing committee of the United States Congress.

I want to add this, that you say you want to remake yourself. I am sure we recognize that you have started that way, and we also recognize that you assert leadership which can with the dedication you have been making to amend those mistakes that you made be a very definite contribution, especially in the activities of the attitude of the very splendid Negro American population. I want to say that especially, because I have the honor of representing in the United States Congress 75,000, more or less, Negro American citizens in my congressional district. I know your testimony will help them and will help every Negro American. I want to thank you.

Miss GATEWOOD. Thank you.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle, before Miss Gatewood leaves, I, first of all, must apologize for having been absent during part of your testimony. However, I did get back in time to hear your final summation, and the greatest compliment I can pay to it is to say that I wish that the television and radio facilities that are here in the room today could carry your message to every corner of the country.

You say that we have inequities. There is no question about that. We have, unfortunately, discriminations which still exist. We are a long way from utopia. But in my opinion, and I am sure out of your words you agree, we will find the answer under the American Republic long before they will find it under the Communist state.

I want to add to what my distinguished colleague Mr. Doyle has said by saying that I am delighted that today there are a number of children of school age here in the hearing room, and I hope that they, too, will remember what you have had to say about America and the American way.

Thank you very much for your testimony.

We will stand in recess until 10:50.

(At 10:15 a. m., a short recess was taken until 10:55 a. m.)

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be in order.

The Chair has several communications which should be read at this time.

There is one communication from Elmer Larson and Mary Larson from Ocean Beach, who wish to make it known that they are in no way connected or related to the Larson mentioned during the course of this testimony, or in these hearings.

The second communication is from Loren Field and Benton Field, who are owners of the Twentieth Century Upholstery Co., 2603 University Avenue, and have been for the past 22 years, and they would like it understood that their business concern is not the one which was heretofore mentioned in testimony before the committee.

The Chair would also like to state at this time that another significant development which characterizes this hearing and sets it apart somewhat from any which Mr. Doyle and I have had any experience with heretofore is the number of voluntary witnesses who are coming forward to give testimony without the compulsion of a subpoena. I think Mr. Doyle will agree that this is not only significant in itself, but constitutes one of the best things that could conceivably happen in the area of congressional investigation, when citizens seek to come forward and volunteer their services.

Mr. DOYLE. I entirely agree with that statement.

Mr. JACKSON. I do not know of any other period in the life of the committee, certainly not since I have been a member, and Mr. Doyle's membership is about the same as my own, when in 2 days we have had not less than 4 former members of the Communist Party come forward voluntarily and offer their testimony. It is significant. It is encouraging. And again the subcommittee would like to extend an invitation—it will not be possible to hear any more witnesses than those who are presently scheduled to appear this morning—but if there are any additional witnesses, any former Communists who do want to be heard by the committee, we urge that they communicate with the counsel of the committee. The communication should be addressed to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Mr. DOYLE. May I suggest this, Mr. Chairman, that if they do not want to do that, because they know it will be considerable time before they might have opportunity to testify, that they cooperate with the Sheriff's office here and with the FBI here.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, by all means. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has an office here in San Diego, and the end and ultimate effect



of going to the Federal Bureau of Investigation would be precisely the same as it would in coming before the committee.

One further message before you call your next witness, Mr. Counsel. A telegram addressed to the subcommittee reads:

For matter of record, I, Bob Angus, sports writer for the Evening Tribune, wish to state that I am not the Robert Anguis mentioned in the Un-American Activities hearings in San Diego.

Signed—

Bob Angus.

Who is your next witness, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the next witness is a person that I met for the first time in the corridors of the building a few minutes ago, and who desires to appear. In light of your announcement, I do not know whether to call him or not, purely from the standpoint of time.

Mr. JACKSON. It is not generally the custom to place witnesses on the stand who have not previously been interrogated in executive session. However, I think the circumstances are somewhat different in this connection, inasmuch as the witness has volunteered to take the stand. I leave it to the judgment of Mr. Doyle as to what course of action the subcommittee should follow.

Mr. DOYLE. I would think, Mr. Chairman, we should allow only the few minutes that we can allow, because the full time has been scheduled up to the time we adjourn, but I think in view of the volunteer—

Mr. JACKSON. Can this matter be disposed of quickly?

Mr. TAVENNER. I think perhaps I can dispose of it in 5 or 10 minutes.

Mr. JACKSON. All right, you may proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Artie Sykes.

Mr. DOYLE. While he is coming forward, may the record show in regard to the witness who testified about having received \$24,576.70 and alleged that the testimony of Dan Taylor was perjured testimony, that we allowed him an hour, but he voluntarily only consumed 47 minutes.

Mr. JACKSON. No, I think his departure from the stand was not voluntary. His departure from the stand was somewhat speeded by the fact he insisted on maligning the committee. He still had 15 minutes remaining of the time originally allotted.

### TESTIMONY OF ARTIE SYKES

Mr. JACKSON. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SYKES. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Be seated, please.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. SYKES. Artie Sykes, S-y-k-e-s.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you desire to have the benefit of counsel with you while you are questioned?

Mr. SYKES. No, I don't. I don't think it is necessary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Sykes, I must be very brief. You indicated a desire to appear before the committee voluntarily, did you not?



Mr. SYKES. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SYKES. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member?

Mr. SYKES. No, I am not.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SYKES. I would say from 1948 actively until about the latter part of 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. What branch or group of the Communist Party were you a member of?

Mr. SYKES. Logan Heights.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee briefly how you became a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SYKES. Well, at the time that Lynn Ackerstein, well, she was chairman of this committee, and she was asking that it was a party that was supposed to be set up to provide for jobs. At this particular time they was writing pamphlets, that is, for Negro bus drivers, and this party was supposed to get jobs, that is, for Negroes and bus drivers here in San Diego.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you were told that an organization was to be set up to get jobs?

Mr. SYKES. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. As bus drivers?

Mr. SYKES. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mean you thought you were joining a group that had that as its objective?

Mr. SYKES. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you told it was a Communist Party?

Mr. SYKES. No, it was the Independent Progressive [Party].

Mr. TAVENNER. Independent Progressive [Party]?

Mr. SYKES. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you find out any different later?

Mr. SYKES. Later on I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did you find out later on?

Mr. SYKES. The first experience was my wife, she went out to the Navy Hospital, and she was hired out there, that is, as a——

Mr. TAVENNER. Excuse me. I don't want to go too much into detail. I don't believe that is quite in answer to my question. Now, you thought that you were joining a group other than the Communist Party. How did you find out that it was the Communist Party that you joined?

Mr. SYKES. By being turned away from different jobs, and later on when she goes back to Mr. Stevenson, that is, to get a statement that she wasn't a Communist, he then tells her that he couldn't say that she wasn't a Communist. He said that she wasn't, but he couldn't give her any statement like that, that she was not a Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. I still don't quite understand. Explain a little more fully how you found out that it was the Communist Party that you had joined.

Mr. SYKES. Well, the only definition that I could give, I was turned away from several jobs; in fact, I stood examination and was told

to report to work, and then after I reported for work they wouldn't hire me.

Mr. JACKSON. It was a matter of security clearance?

Mr. SYKES. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. Were you informed that you were not considered a good security risk?

Mr. SYKES. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. Did they say why you were not; did they say you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SYKES. No; they didn't. They didn't say exactly that I was a member of the Communist Party, but they did say it was a security risk, and on account of my loyalty oath, they couldn't give me employment.

Mr. JACKSON. When did you determine then that you were in the Communist Party?

Mr. SYKES. Well, I would say the latter part of 1950.

Mr. JACKSON. How did you find it out?

Mr. SYKES. Well, they had several meetings, that is, at my house. Well, they proposed several dinners. First, they had us to distribute leaflets, that is, to different churches, and then they asked about having a dinner at my house, that is. Well, after having the dinner at my house, Mr. Grady of the FBI came out and they told me it was cited as a Communist front and asked me if I knew it, and I told him no. Then he asked me would I come down to his office, so I went down to his office and he had me to make a sworn statement that I was not a Communist.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, were you a Communist at that time?

Mr. SYKES. No; I was in the Independent Progressive Party, but I still didn't consider it Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were never able to understand the difference between the IPP group that you thought you had joined and the Communist Party, which you were later accused of being a member of?

Mr. SYKES. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. It seemed like all the same thing to you?

Mr. SYKES. All the same thing.

Mr. JACKSON. I can see where one would be a little puzzled about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did you do about getting out of it?

Mr. SYKES. Well, the first thing after I went to the FBI here, to Mr. Grady here in San Diego, and I explained to him up in the Trust and Savings Building, then I later went down and changed my registration, that is, from Progressive to Democrat.

Mr. TAVENNER. That will please Mr. Doyle.

Well, the point is that you got into the Communist Party, if I understand your testimony, without its being explained to you just what it is you were joining?

Mr. SYKES. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. If I understand you correctly, you were told it was an organization to get jobs for bus drivers?

Mr. SYKES. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think that is all I want to ask.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. You have made a full statement to the FBI, haven't you?

Mr. SYKES. Yes, I did.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you very much. I want to invite you now to be active against the Communist Party philosophy. I can see you are, because you helped the FBI and you are helping us this morning.

Mr. JACKSON. With the thanks of the committee you are excused.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Lloyd Hamlin.

### TESTIMONY OF LLOYD HAMLIN—Resumed

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Hamlin has heretofore been sworn.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Hamlin, I regret that it was necessary to interrupt your testimony yesterday in order to dispose of many other witnesses who were waiting. I would now like to resume with your testimony.

A few moments ago a witness by the name of Ernestine Gatewood testified. She described the situation that came to her knowledge both here and in San Francisco about the attempted discipline within the Communist Party resulting in instances of expulsion under circumstances which very much alarmed her. I think it may be well at this time for you to tell the committee what you know about the operations of the Communist Party in that respect. Did it have a specially organized group or commission that dealt with deviationists or other serious offenses by members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes. In the Communist Party, both on a state level and a party level, it has what is known as a security commission.

Mr. TAVENNER. A security commission?

Mr. HAMLIN. A security commission, yes. I believe nation-wide the setup exists as well. The security commission is actually a group of people in the Communist Party whose duty it is and whose assignment it is to investigate their own members or to snoop on them, so that, as was so aptly put by Miss Gatewood just a few moments ago, these people report back to their leaders of the Communist Party any small deviation that the individual may have. Now, those deviations may be and are generally very sincere ones. As an example, in San Diego County in 1948—

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you raise your voice just a little bit?

Mr. HAMLIN. I am sorry. In San Diego County in 1948, the latter part of that year, we had an excellent example of this sort of thing. I was on the county committee at that particular time. The county committee was charged with hearing the ultimate reports on all deviation cases and cases that were up for expulsion. At that particular time the issue was particularly that of individual members, so-called rank and file members, of the Communist Party who had in the eyes of Bernadette Doyle, the county organizer at that particular time, deviated from party discipline, which is enumerated hundreds of times in Marxist literature as iron discipline, and, believe me, it is iron discipline. These people, as has already been stated by other witnesses, Mr. Hagan as an example, felt that the dictatorial policy promoted by Miss Doyle upon her arrival in San Diego in the Communist Party was not conducive to either good participation by Communist members or loyalty by those members.

As a result, in the latter part of 1948 these people were actually, a



number of them were actually brought before the county committee, which was acting as a security commission at this particular time, and asked about their deviations. They were permitted only to state those things that would more or less incriminate them, and any time that any of the individuals made an attempt to criticize Miss Doyle for her dictatorial methods, they were immediately shut up and made fun of.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question, counsel, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand this was a committee of top Communist Party functionaries in San Diego County?

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. You say the witnesses couldn't plead the fifth amendment?

Mr. HAMLIN. The witnesses, ironically enough, one of them in particular, brought that subject up, and it was very embarrassing to the county committee, of course, of which I was a member, the issuance of the first, fifth, and I believe, the fourteenth amendment.

Mr. DOYLE. You don't mean that the Communist Party functionaries investigating the conduct of a member of the Communist Party, that they were allowed to testify or forced to testify to things that would incriminate them?

Mr. HAMLIN. I am afraid that is the case, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I am glad we don't function that way, Mr. Chairman. I am glad we observe the American Constitution.

Mr. HAMLIN. May I state a personal opinion here, please, with the indulgence of the committee?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes.

Mr. HAMLIN. I can assure you, after having lived for many years, 7 years, with Communists that Communists have never enjoyed in the Communist Party the complete democracy that is afforded them by this committee.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course, they were notified they had the right of counsel before this Communist Party committee. Didn't they bring in some lawyers, these people who were up for expulsion?

Mr. HAMLIN. I am afraid the Communist Party does not work that way. When you are up for expulsion you have no counsel, you have no privilege of calling witnesses. You are there to belittle yourself, as these people were. These people were expelled.

Mr. DOYLE. And that occurred in San Diego?

Mr. HAMLIN. That occurred in San Diego. It occurred to me several times in San Diego. As an example, I might give one other instance, if time permits, and that is the expulsion of the gentleman who testified the other day.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Hagan?

Mr. HAMLIN. No, the lawyer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Adams?

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Richard Adams. Mr. Richard Adams was in the early part, I believe, of 1946 preparing to run for the city council, election to the City Council of National City, in which he resided. I believe it was National City. Mr. Adams was a member of the county committee of the Communist Party in San Diego County. Mr. Adams had been in responsible positions with the Communist Party



prior to that time and had in some circles, at least, become known as a representative of the Communist Party. During the preliminaries and early part of the election procedure Mr. Adams became involved in a matter, the details of which I am not prepared to go into, because I do not remember them.

The county committee inquired into this affair with Mr. Adams, and Mr. Adams became very indignant at such an inquiry. The county committee itself took under advisement—of which I was a member and sat during all of the hearings—the fact that Mr. Adams had become involved in such an alleged procedure, and that inasmuch as not even the Communist Party, the members themselves, did not trust Mr. Adams, and inasmuch as he was somewhat known publicly as an official representative of the Communist Party, it was deemed advisable at that time to expel Mr. Adams from the party, which was done.

Mr. Adams was not expelled from the Communist Party because of any deviations that he might have with the Communist Party so far as its beliefs or its actions were concerned. Mr. Adams was expelled from the Communist Party primarily because the Communist Party was actually afraid to trust him any longer as a representative of them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are there any other illustrations that you can give the committee from your experience as a member of the executive committee of the Communist Party for San Diego which you think would be worth while in advising the committee as to the method of operations of the Communist Party within the field of security, or any other matter?

Mr. HAMLIN. I believe that the witnesses who have been on, not the subpoenaed witnesses, but as an example, Miss Gatewood, who just testified, have explained very vividly and very dramatically, I believe, the procedure in the Communist Party, and I do not believe that anything I could say probably would add a great deal to this procedure. I believe that the important thing to be brought out in the dealings of the Communist Party which have been reflected time and time again in the voluntary witnesses' testimony, is the fact that the Communist Party does not by any stretch of the imagination do the things that it purports to do, and that it stands for publicly; that the Communist Party has no form or even excuse for being, as far as democracy is concerned, and may I make one observation with the indulgence of the committee. Miss Gatewood and the other witnesses who have been here voluntarily, I want to say this, because I believe that I personally have knowledge that perhaps a great many people who may be listening on the air, or listening in the courtroom, do not have, of just what these three young ladies went through in making their testimony, and I think the important thing to bring forth at this particular time is that even though a person is a Communist, when they find out, and it is inevitable, that the Communist Party is not going to give them the thing that they thought it was going to give them, or that the Communist Party does not stand for the high ideals that they first felt it stood for when they were duped into becoming Communists, that they can get out of the Communist Party. I think we have had some excellent living examples of the people who have been Communists, ardent Communists, believe me, I lived with them and I know, and now they have gotten out of the Communist Party, and it can be done.

Mr. TAVENNER. I do not desire to repeat the names of persons who have been identified in the testimony, but there are several persons whose names were mentioned and very little said about their function in the Communist Party. Possibly you can clear the matter up a little more definitely.

The name of Enos Baker was mentioned yesterday by a witness by the name of Tony Smith, as being the one responsible for putting him out of the party, but who went along on the ride to San Francisco to attend a State convention of the Communist Party. Will you tell the committee briefly what Enos Baker's part in the Communist Party activities was?

Mr. HAMLIN. Enos Baker, from the period of possibly the middle of 1947 until the latter part of that year, was the Communist Party organizer in San Diego County. Prior to that period of time Mr. Baker was an official in the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. The witness Miss Carol Bayme mentioned the name of Nancy Rosenfeld. Possibly that person was mentioned by another witness. I believe her present married name now is Lund, L-u-n-d.

Mr. HAMLIN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what her activity was in the Communist Party?

Mr. HAMLIN. Nancy Rosenfeld was, by her own statement, sent to San Diego from Los Angeles to become the organizational secretary of the Communist Party in San Diego County. Miss Rosenfeld came to San Diego approximately in the fall of 1945. She married Richard Lund. Her name now is Nancy Rosenfeld Lund. Both of them were party functionaries, and they are now residing in Los Angeles, believe.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel, if I may interpose at this moment a summary in conclusion because I think the people who have been watching the committee during the past few days would be interested in it, and the television facilities, I am informed, are going off at 11:30.

Upon the conclusion of the present hearings in the San Diego area, the subcommittee wishes to make several acknowledgments and observations.

Hearings such as the ones presently concluding require for their success a large measure of cooperation between Federal, county, and city agencies, press, radio, television, and the public. In this regard the subcommittee is happy to report that in no city where the Committee on Un-American Activities has heretofore held public hearings has that cooperation been more willing or effective than here in the Border City.

The committee and the Congress are most grateful for the assistance rendered by Chief of Police Elmer Jansen of the San Diego Police Department. The great contribution to the hearings made by Sheriff Bert Strand has been especially welcome. The sheriff's department, in addition to assigning deputies for the service of subpoenas, has also furnished the committee members and staff with transportation facilities. Not the least of the contributions made by that department was the assignment on a full time basis during the course of the hearings of Bob Newsom whose 6 feet 4 inches has been in constant attendance at counsel's table, and whose cheerful and helpful cooperation is deeply appreciated by all of us.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation within the limits imposed upon it by regulations, has lent what assistance it could, as have the representatives of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. All of the agencies I have mentioned are due the thanks of the committee which are tendered herewith.

While it is yet too early to properly evaluate the testimony of witnesses who have been heard this week, several significant facts appear documented at this time. These appear to the subcommittee members, as follows:

1. That during the 1930's and 1940's, a considerable effort was made in the San Diego area to establish branch organizations.

2. That parallel efforts were made to infiltrate the ranks of organized labor in the San Diego area.

3. That leadership in the party organization in the area, due either to its own inefficiency or to the alertness of security agencies failed to weld a cohesive and effective apparatus.

4. That after a brief ascendancy in organized labor, the efforts of the Communist Party to infiltrate were completely frustrated by loyal Americans within the field of organized labor.

While these evidences are encouraging ones, it should not be assumed that the Communist Party and its numerous non-Communist affiliates, will in any way cease their efforts to plant Communists and Communist sympathizers in mass organizations, labor, youth groups, churches, and organizations whose efforts are directed toward the improvement of race relationships. The ultimate goal of world domination as enunciated by all Communist leaders since Marx and Engels has in no way changed and infrequent defeats such as that which may have been met in this area have historically spurred the Communists to increased activity.

The subcommittee appreciates the testimony which has been received from those who served for the Federal Bureau of Investigation within the Communist Party, and from those former Communists who have broken with the conspiracy and have come forward to give the Congress of the United States and the American people the benefit of their personal knowledge of Communist objectives and methods of operation.

Knowledge is power, and information relative to the past history of Communist Party activities within the United States will make it possible for this Republic and its people to meet the threat posed by the new and fearful aggression against self-determination and the freedom of the individual.

The coverage of the hearings by press, radio, and television here in San Diego has been excellent and has rendered it possible for hundreds of thousands of citizens to see communism in action. It has made a vague and indistinct threat something real and personal. The congratulations and the thanks of the House Committee on Un-American Activities are herewith tendered to the representatives of the informational media who have covered these hearings.

Last, but certainly not least, the committee wishes to extend its thanks to those who have attended the hearings here in the Chamber of Commerce Auditorium and to the many citizens of this area who have telegraphed, telephoned, or written in to express their approval and support. We, who are required to take sustained abuse and vilification from unfriendly witnesses, are frequently asked how we are able to



do it. The answer lies in those letters and telegrams from friends and supporters whose faces we never see but whose presence is constantly behind the committee table.

In conclusion, the committee wishes to thank hospitable and beautiful San Diego, its public officials and its citizens for scores of little courtesies which the pressure of official business may make it impossible for us to acknowledge personally. The subcommittee and staff will remember each of them, however, as an added evidence of courtesy and good will.

Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee during the course of this investigation has endeavored to determine the source of the financial help given the Communist Party. During the course of the testimony a will has been introduced in evidence, from the terms of which and from the settlement made in court, and which has been produced for the committee, shows that the money went, a substantial sum of money, virtually the entire estate of the individual went to three persons. One of them was Laura Colwell. Laura Colwell testified that she did not consider the money was hers, but she refused to testify as to what occurred, as to what disposition was made of the money.

William Schneiderman was another person to whom this large sum of money was left. William Schneiderman, of course, everyone knows was the head of the Communist Party of the 13th district comprising the State of California and certain other territory.

Another person mentioned in the will as the beneficiary of this fund for certain stated purposes was Elizabeth Roe.

There has been no testimony relating to Elizabeth Roe. Were you acquainted with Elizabeth Roe?

Mr. HAMLIN. I am acquainted with an Elizabeth Roe, but I would hesitate to develop that point inasmuch as I would not be positive to which Elizabeth Roe the document referred. So I would hesitate to go any further on that.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you know her as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HAMLIN. Not as a member of the Communist Party during my period of time; no.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what the general scheme of the Communist Party was for financing its operations in the area of San Diego?

Mr. HAMLIN. The Communist Party primarily raised its funds for operational expense from so-called donations of individuals in the San Diego area. A very small amount of money was, of course, obtained through dues payments, of which a certain small percent was to be kept in the county area. The balance, and the larger part of the dues payments, of course, went elsewhere.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have information of your own, based on your own personal knowledge, I mean of your own personal and direct knowledge, of the contributors to the Communist Party in this area?

Mr. HAMLIN. No. My job was never to collect from so-called angels. Mr. Toback, who has already been a witness before the committee, an unfriendly witness, I believe, for a number of years that was his particular job, to collect from these people.



Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, it may well be that the committee should hear in executive session any other information that this witness may be able to give us as lead information for further investigation.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. Counsel will make whatever arrangements necessary.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were active in the Communist Party in San Diego at the time of the beginning or the outbreak of the Korean War, were you not?

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the Communist Party line with regard to responsibility for the Korean War as handed down through Communist Party channels to the local group?

Mr. HAMLIN. The Communist Party line in regard to the Korean War was one that was pursued for quite a length of time, that being that the South Korean régime had instituted and had conducted the war, and that they were the people to be blamed for the whole thing, and, incidentally, I might add that there were a number of quite heated discussions on this particular issue, inasmuch as many of the actual rank and file Communist members, although their dissension and their argument was to no avail and very brief, had a hard time swallowing this kind of thing.

The discussions from the standpoint of educational discussions prior to club meetings for quite a length of time were devoted, many of them, to the propulsion of this theory of the South Korean invasion of North Korea.

Mr. TAVENNER. And, of course, the adoption of such a line, such a theory of propaganda, could do nothing other than to hurt the prestige of the United States and interfere with its international relations and destroy the morale of the fighting forces in the Korean War, isn't that true?

Mr. HAMLIN. That was the primary purpose of the propaganda by the Communist Party. Communists are taught that the Soviet Union can do no wrong. The Soviet Union in all instances, communism in all instances, is right. The theory of materialistic dialectics, as an example, which is a basis of operation of the Communist Party, can, if necessary, explain anything and the next day can explain it just the opposite and make Communists believe it is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any instance in your long work within the Communist Party when the line of the Communist Party was in any way antagonistic to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union?

Mr. HAMLIN. That is the day I live to see. At no time did it ever deviate.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has there been any instance, to your knowledge, when the Communist Party supported as an organization the foreign policy of the United States Government when that was in any way in conflict with the interests of the Soviet Union?

Mr. HAMLIN. Not to my knowledge, and I think I could go a little further than that and say it had never been.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there anything else you would like to state to the committee at this time, Mr. Hamlin?

Mr. HAMLIN. With the indulgence of the committee, I would like to read one short line from a book by William Z. Foster, entitled "The Twilight of Capitalism," which throws a great deal of light on the

subject of religion and the aspect of it in regard to communism, how Communists feel about religion. This has been projected into the hearing room at least by one witness who was an unfriendly witness, and I couldn't possibly close my testimony without bringing some light to shed on it because, in my estimation, and I believe in the estimation of many of the people, the leaders in the world who are fighting communism feel that at least religion, some form of religion, is possibly one of the guiding lights that we have for the destruction eternally of communism.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask what year that was published?

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Who was William Z. Foster when he wrote it?

Mr. HAMLIN. This book is copyrighted in 1949 by the International Publishers Company, Incorporated. William Z. Foster was at that time, and is at this very moment, head of the Communist Party of the United States of America. I will read one line at page 101 of this book. This line is as follows:

There is no God of any kind anywhere in the Communist cosmos.

Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think I shall change my mind and ask you about some other matters, although it is getting late. I think it is important enough to do it.

A member of the committee asked about this matter during the course of the examination of another witness, and that is the directions that were given to the Communist members in the State of California, or in that area, regarding their attitude toward industry and what their approach to industry should be, and I have before me a letter under date of June 27, 1946, addressed to all Communists in California, signed William Z. Foster. I desire to offer the letter in evidence and ask it be marked "Hamlin Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. JACKSON. It is so admitted.

(The document above referred to was marked "Hamlin Exhibit No. 1" and received in evidence.<sup>1</sup>)

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask you to review the contents of the letter for the committee, in so much as may be necessary to show what the purposes of the Communist Party were in this area, what they were directed to do.

Mr. HAMLIN. This letter is dated June 27, 1946, and, as has been established, is addressed to all Communists in California. "Dear Communists." I will not read all the letter, but only a little bit of it. The first sentence is indicative of the purpose of the letter, I believe. Incidentally, I might divert here for a moment and say this is a letter that I had personally given to me as a member of the county committee in San Diego County, and as chairman of the club, in order to use it for promoting the activities which are directed in this particular letter. It says:

Our national convention of the Communist Party was reconstituted. We have stressed the urgent need of securing a firm working class base for our party everywhere throughout the country.

The contents of this letter go on to emphasize to the Communist Party and to the Communist Party workers on all levels that they

<sup>1</sup> Retained in committee files.

must as Communist Party members concentrate on infiltration and recruitment in industry.

Here in San Diego that was one of the hues and cries of the Communist Party throughout the period of time that I was a member, that of having contacts, having Communist Party members if possible in the industrial areas and shops in San Diego, and I might say that through the efforts of our government the Communist Party in the city and county of San Diego were in almost all instances frustrated in their attempts to infiltrate into labor or into industry.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you consider as the best protection that can be afforded against—I am not speaking of security matters in which the Government is interested—but what would you think is the best method of protection that could be afforded the public generally against the development of the Communist Party, the organization of the Communist Party into a strong group in this community?

Mr. HAMLIN. One of the crying needs, not only in San Diego, I believe, but all over the United States and the world, for that matter, is a working knowledge of what the Communist Party actually stands for, not what it says it stands for, but what it actually stands for. A knowledge by the public that communism actually exists and is at their door, and in San Diego, as for example, we do have Communists, that we would have a Communist Party, a very hard core of working Communists, and the important thing is that although there may be very few Communists, relatively speaking, in the United States of America, that they are definitely a threat to our security.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel, may I interject a question. Following the conclusion of each one of these hearings throughout the country, average loyal disturbed American citizens have come to Mr. Doyle and myself. They have said, "What contribution can I make personally, what can I do? What should I do as an individual to play a role in this fight?"

Is there anything out of your experience that you might pass along in answer to that question? Frankly, there are times when I do not know what to answer as to how the individual citizen can play a part.

Mr. HAMLIN. Would you like me to say?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, if you have any comment to make on that.

Mr. HAMLIN. That always is a very distressing question, inasmuch as I personally, when I am asked that question, would like to tell them something a little more concrete to do than to become familiar with communism and know how it works, be aware of it. It is a very difficult thing, because the individual is limited in the amount of physical participation that he can take in this particular thing at this particular time. So, therefore, I reiterate that one of the best ways of fighting communism today, I think, is to know more about communism and to tell their neighbors and their friends about communism.

I have no fear as an individual that if every person in the United States of America knew what communism was about—I have no fear that they would become Communists. If the people in the world, even though people in occupied countries, who many today believe they are Communists, if they could foresee, if subconsciously they could foresee the end of communism, I feel certain that they would of their own accord rise up and crush communism.



Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Hamlin, this committee has striven for a number of years as hard as it could to present evidence to the Congress of just exactly how the Communist Party operates. It has been unable to do that except to take individuals and show from their testimony all the circumstances relating to their experience in the party, each case being somewhat of the nature of a laboratory test. By that method Congress can be made aware of the real type of activity with which the country is being confronted. Any time that we can learn of any other method of informing the Congress of the real intrigue and the real operations of this group, why, of course, we want to comply with it. If you have any other suggestions I would like to hear them.

Mr. HAMLIN. I think the procedure of the committee itself, as has been conducted in San Diego to all of our personal experiences here now, and I am sure under the same conditions in other places, is, in my estimation, one of the best ways that the public can be brought face to face with the reality of communism now.

Personally, I would like to thank the committee for having come to San Diego and for making it possible for the people of San Diego, and I hope thousands of them, to see in action what they have seen in the last few days. [Applause.]

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, at that point, as long as our distinguished committee counsel has referred to the United States Congress, of which you and I have the honor and responsibility of being Members, I have kept open this Public Law 601, the text thereof before me, these last few days, and yet the time is so short with these witnesses I haven't taken time heretofore to ask this question which generally I ask, as you know.

Referring to Public Law 601, Mr. Witness, subdivision 3 of paragraph 2 says this to the Un-American Activities Committee, that we shall engage ourselves on—

All other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

Now, you no doubt know that for a month before we came here the Judiciary Committee of the United States Congress have been considering legislation to outlaw the Communist Party, and also for your information I will say that our own House Un-American Activities Committee is considering what legislation we shall recommend to the United States Congress, and in many cases, on important legislation, the recommendations we have made as a result of hearings such as this have been adopted in toto or in part by the United States Congress in legislation.

Mr. JACKSON. In 32 instances, if I may interject.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes. Now, because you have been, and are, manifestly, a real scholar in the field of subversive activities, and have rendered a great patriotic service to our country, have you any thought you might give the committee in that area, and have you thought through any legislation in addition to what we now have, if any should be placed on our statute books in the field of subversive activities?

Mr. HAMLIN. I have given it a great deal of thought, as I assume many of our citizens have.

Mr. DOYLE. I assume you have.



Mr. HAMLIN. But, frankly, I am still at a loss to even suggest legislation that I feel would cope with the Communist situation. Personally, I am rather inclined to favor the proposed legislation at the present time, of our outlawing the Communist Party. Now, I realize the difficulties involved there, as I believe you people, other than Communists would realize, but at the same time, I believe that we are in a world situation now that warrants such drastic action.

As far as legislation is concerned, I do not personally believe, and as history has shown, that legislation alone will ever be the answer to it, because, in my estimation, and I am sure others agree with me on this, scholars of communism, we are at a point in the world situation, in the world today, where it must either of necessity be Communist or must remain free.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question. We are freedom-loving people. We believe in the freedom of expression, freedom of thought, freedom of the press, freedom of political debate; and we must always do that, must we not? But what would justify, in your judgment, States or the United States Congress, on what basis would we be justified in legislating out of existence, out of legal existence, the Communist Party? Why should we do that?

Mr. HAMLIN. I would be happy to qualify the statement that I made that I felt we are now in a world situation that warranted that. I would be glad to elucidate on that.

From the standpoint of my personal belief, we are now operating against a totalitarian dictatorship. I am sure that everyone is aware that many things can be accomplished in a dictatorship, such as forced labor, stepped-up production of war machines, which would ultimately be our destruction and the destruction of democracy in the world. Since I believe that the United States of America is the last bulwark against communism in the world, I believe that we have the responsibility of taking every step that we possibly can to see that we prepare ourselves to keep democracy alive in the world. I, therefore, believe that of necessity this would be justified.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you have anything further, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. You may step down, Mr. Hamlin.

I want first of all to pay you the compliment that I heard last night from mutual friends who had worked with you on veterans' affairs and who told me that during the period of your service to the FBI that you were considered to be the most obnoxious individual in San Diego. So well did you play your role and play your part that you were suspected of carrying bombs in every pocket.

Secondly, I should like to say that your testimony—this is certainly without any reflection upon the testimony of other witnesses—has been marked by a dispassionate calm and practical quality which is quite in contrast with the hysteria that is brought to the witness chair by some who are determined not to lend any assistance in the fight against Communist aggression. Your calm and dispassionate appraisal of the situation as you knew it personally has added invaluable substance to what the Congress already knows about the objectives and the methods and the nature of communism. I want to extend to you the thanks of the full Committee on Un-American Activities and to state

that we recognize the sacrifice which you made, and the great contribution which grew out of that sacrifice.

With those words and sincere thanks from the committee and staff, you are excused from further attendance upon the committee, and the committee will stand in adjournment at this time subject to the call of the Chair.

I am informed by counsel there is an additional witness to be heard at this time. Will you call your witness, and before he takes the stand, I should like to make one announcement, that Elbert A. Fouts and Frances J. Fouts, who were identified in these hearings as former members of the Communist Party, and who presently reside in LaJolla, will cooperate fully with the committee's staff in giving us all of the information in their possession. This statement is made at this time so that the public may know that these two individuals are available and have evidenced their willingness to cooperate fully with the committee in making its study.

Will you call your next witness, please.

### TESTIMONY OF JOHN QUIMBY

Mr. JACKSON. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before the subcommittee you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. QUIMBY. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. QUIMBY. John Quimby, Q-u-i-m-b-y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Quimby, you indicated a desire to appear before the committee for the purpose of informing the committee what action has been taken and is being taken and what success has been reached in preventing the Communist Party infiltration in this area within the field of labor. We are very glad to have you make such a statement to the committee.

What is your official position?

Mr. QUIMBY. I am the secretary-treasurer of the San Diego Central Labor Council, A. F. of L. I am very happy to have this opportunity, and for the record I would like to say this, that the president of the Central Labor Council, Mr. C. O. Taylor, has had several phone calls in the last 2 days, and he would like me to make it clear that he is not the reformed Communist that testified the first day and I would like to have that for the record because Mr. Taylor is the president of our council, and has been in the forefront in fighting the Communists for many years.

Mr. JACKSON. The committee is very glad to have that made clear in the record.

Mr. QUIMBY. Thank you, sir.

May I say this, that it is no accident that the Communist have had no success infiltrating the American Federation of Labor and our unions in San Diego, and the reason for that is the heritage we have received from the very inception of the formation of the American Federation of Labor, in which Samuel Gompers laid down the policy that we will not be captured by any radical groups, and this has prevailed throughout many, many years. We even go further than that. We take specific steps at our national level, in which we have a wealth

of information of all types on Communist activities, Communist techniques and the popular Commie front issue of the day.

We furthermore go farther than that. We have a good many pamphlets which we use for consumption of our membership in comparing, for instance, the number of working hours that it takes, or working days that it might take, to earn a pair of shoes in Russia and that it might take to earn a pair of shoes in the United States, and that, above all things, certainly would convince any American worker that they should have no part of the Communist Party.

Now, I know it is late, and I do not want to stay too long, but I do want to say this: As far as our local history is concerned, we recognized the radical element, of course, many many years ago, in which the Central Labor Council and the local A. F. of L. Union said nobody will carry a dual card, they will not have a card in the IWW and the American Federation of Labor. When that was found, they were expelled from the American Federation of Labor.

About approximately 1936 it was found in the Central Labor Council that there were a great many radical people, including Commies, that actually became officers of the Central Labor Council, and at that time they decided it was time to unload those Commies, and that is exactly what was done.

At one meeting, as has been expressed, they were shaken up by the heels and their Commie cards shaken out of them, and those that refused to go were thrown down the stairs, and that is actually what happened.

Back in those days, of course, the techniques of Commie infiltration was not as well known, but we in the American Federation of Labor recognize the danger; we recognize the danger, because we know what happened to the free trade unions in Russia. They do not have such a thing. We knew what Mussolini, we knew what Hitler, and we knew what Joe Stalin did to trade unions. They dissolved them. They don't have any. That is why we have been so adamant in our fight.

Now, again, throughout a period of years, in 1947 we again felt that we had what we thought might be Commies or fellow travelers, and at that time we changed our constitution of the Central Labor Council and made it impossible, we refused to seat a Communist, so we made an addition to that and stated we will refuse to seat a Commie or a fellow traveler, and at that time we had 5 people, we felt, women and men, who were Commies or fellow travelers, and we made a little different approach this time. We gathered what we felt was conclusive evidence on what their position was, and we observed their operation on the floor of our Council, in which all of the Commie techniques were used, and we expelled them from the Council. Some of the unions even went further than that and they took their livelihood away from them by taking their cards, which is an extreme measure, but we feel that dealing with Communists you cannot let any type of sentimentality interfere with your convictions.

So some of those people that we ousted from the Central Labor Council were further ousted from their individual unions, and in many cases had to leave San Diego, because they couldn't find employment. It was an extreme measure, but something, we felt, was necessary.

Now, through the Central Labor Council back in around 1946 and 1947 there was a great rush of Commie front organizations. We have



trained our affiliated unions to check with the Central Labor Council upon any type of what they might think would be a Commie front organization, or any organization that might involve organized labor in any type of Communist activities.

Even as late as last Wednesday, when we had our Central Council meeting we had two characters down in front of the Central Council Hall starting to pass out these pamphlets that have been spoken of before attacking this committee. We believe in strong measures, and we ran them off and ran them up the street. That is the way we feel we must deal with them.

I wish to further say I think we have been successful in combatting infiltration of communism, because we feel you can't compromise with a Commie. You can't say maybe there is only 1 or 2 here, and 1 or 2 there, and there is not any particular danger. That is not true. As long as you have one there is a danger, and that has been our philosophy. The Central Labor Council of San Diego will never have a Commie or fellow traveler seated and we are adamant about that fact.

We think further another way to combat communism is a well informed membership, and we use every medium we have through our international union magazines, also through our own labor paper which is distributed to all of the A. F. of L. members in San Diego County, to make every opportunity available to them to understand the dangers of communism and to let them know that the American Federation of Labor are solidly behind the capitalistic system which we operate under.

Those are just a few brief remarks I am very happy to make, and I appreciate the opportunity, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Quimby, may I say that the congratulations of the people of San Diego and all the people of the country are due to the splendid job that has been done in ridding organized labor's ranks of these influences. Certainly there is nothing at all compatible between the Communist Party and free American labor.

We are very happy to have you here today to make these few remarks, and if we ever return to San Diego, and it does not appear particularly necessary to do so at this moment, we shall look forward to having the pleasure of your appearance again.

Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Jackson, Mr. Quimby's testimony in relating what the A. F. of L. has done in San Diego reminds me that some great man said eternal vigilance is the price of our liberty. Apparently the A. F. of L. in San Diego has applied eternal vigilance. I desire to congratulate them.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. Counsel, may we now adjourn?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. There being no further business to be taken by the subcommittee, the subcommittee stands adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 12:14 p. m., the hearing was adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.)



# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA—Part 10

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1953

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE  
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Los Angeles, Calif.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>1</sup>

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:55 a. m., in room 1117, Statler Hotel, Los Angeles, Calif., Honorable Donald L. Jackson presiding.

Committee member present: Representative Donald L. Jackson.

Staff member present: William A. Wheeler, investigator.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss RAYMOND. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF JUDITH RAYMOND

Mr. WHEELER. Will you please state your name?

Miss RAYMOND. Judith Raymond.

Mr. WHEELER. Where were you born?

Miss RAYMOND. In New York City.

Mr. WHEELER. Where do you presently reside?

Miss RAYMOND. Los Angeles.

Mr. WHEELER. Will you relate your educational background?

Miss RAYMOND. Beginning how far back?

Mr. WHEELER. Begin with high school.

Miss RAYMOND. I started high school in an experimental school in New York City, the Waldon School, and then I went to a Quaker preparatory school in Pennsylvania, and Vassar College, and graduated from Vassar.

Mr. WHEELER. What year did you graduate from Vassar?

Miss RAYMOND. 1944.

Mr. WHEELER. Will you state your employment background since leaving college?

Miss RAYMOND. Well, in August of 1944 I came to California. For the rest of that year I worked as a free-lance reader in motion pictures and other odd jobs like that, proof-reading.

In December of that year I went to work for the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization. I worked for them until June 1946, and then took a brief vacation.

<sup>1</sup> Released by the committee following the hearings held in San Diego in April 1954.

In September I went to work for the Joan Davis Radio Show as a script girl. I worked through that season, until June of 1947, and in July I went to work for the Coronet Theater. It is hard to describe that job. There was publicity and running of 16 millimeter films that they were showing, and helping with the promotional work of the theater activities.

I was employed until May 1948, when I went to work for the Berg, Allen Berg Agency. I was a secretary in the literary department. I went with them with the merger with the William Morris office.

I quit there in December and I haven't been working since.

Mr. WHEELER. Are you under subpoena by this committee?

Miss RAYMOND. No, I am not.

Mr. WHEELER. You are appearing here voluntarily today?

Miss RAYMOND. That is correct.

Mr. WHEELER. Are you represented by counsel?

Miss RAYMOND. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you desire counsel?

Miss RAYMOND. No.

Mr. WHEELER. The committee's investigation of Communist infiltration of the motion-picture industry discloses that you were at one time a member of the Communist Party. Is that correct?

Miss RAYMOND. That is correct.

Mr. WHEELER. Have you related your experiences as a member of the Communist Party to any other Government agency?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes, I went to the FBI April of 1951.

Mr. WHEELER. When did you first become a member of the Communist Party?

Miss RAYMOND. In the late spring of 1945.

Mr. WHEELER. When did you cease to be a member of the Communist Party?

Miss RAYMOND. It is hard to establish a date for that, but it was early 1949, is my recollection.

Mr. WHEELER. What prompted you to join the Communist Party?

Miss RAYMOND. I had been aware of the Communist Party for many years. I was brought up in New York City during the depression and the Communist Party was very vocal during that period.

I had friends socially who were, many of them, I found out, in the Communist Party. And when I came to Los Angeles, one of my old friends was William Pomerance, who many years ago, when I was a child, had been a riding counselor of mine. He was one of the few social contacts I had.

Mr. WHEELER. Where did you first meet Mr. Pomerance?

Miss RAYMOND. At this children's camp.

Mr. WHEELER. Will you please identify that camp?

Miss RAYMOND. Ethical Culture Camp.

Mr. WHEELER. Where is it located?

Miss RAYMOND. Cooperstown, N. Y.

Mr. WHEELER. Continue.

Miss RAYMOND. Through Bill Pomerance and through my job at the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization, most of my social life, as well as everything I was doing at the office, seemed to involve the party, and at that time the avowed purpose of the party was not, in my somewhat confused mind, too divergent from that of the United States, which was mainly winning the war, and civil rights. I think those are the main reasons.

Mr. WHEELER. Prior to becoming a member of the Communist Party in Hollywood, were you a member of any youth organization affiliated with the Communist Party?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes. In college I was a member of the YCL, Young Communist League.

Mr. WHEELER. During what year in college did you become a member of the YCL?

Miss RAYMOND. I became a member in my freshman year.

Mr. WHEELER. The year of 1941?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes, college year 1940-41.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall how you became a member of the Young Communist League?

Miss RAYMOND. Most of the students at college to whom I had introductions were through some of the same friends I knew through my associations with Bill Pomerance and his friends, who were members of the Young Communist League.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you know Bill Pomerance to be a member of the Communist Party prior to your entrance into Vassar?

Miss RAYMOND. I didn't know him to be. I knew his sympathies were strongly in that direction, and arguments and discussions seemed to follow the party line.

Mr. WHEELER. Were you assigned to a unit of the Young Communist League while a student at Vassar?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes, there was just one unit at Vassar.

Mr. WHEELER. How long did you remain a member of the Young Communist League?

Miss RAYMOND. I suppose for all 4 years. The last 2 I didn't do much about it.

Mr. WHEELER. How many individuals were members of the Young Communist League group to which you were assigned, of which you were a member? What was the total membership?

Miss RAYMOND. Between 15 and 20. I don't recall exactly.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you have any knowledge of any other group of the Young Communist League at Vassar?

Miss RAYMOND. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall who recruited you into the Young Communist League?

Miss RAYMOND. Well, I don't know if you could say I was recruited, because I was fairly willing, in the sense I sought them out.

Mr. JACKSON. Whom did you seek out, specifically?

Miss RAYMOND. The 2 people I had my most direct contacts with on that were Claire Lipman Perry and Marcia Durant.

Mr. WHEELER. You knew her as Claire Lipman?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. To whom is she married now?

Miss RAYMOND. Dr. Tom Perry.

Mr. WHEELER. For the record, I would like to say that Tom Perry has been identified as a member of the Communist Party and appeared before the committee and pleaded the fifth amendment.

Who is the second party?

Miss RAYMOND. Marcia Durant. I don't know whether she is married.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you know where she resides?

Miss RAYMOND. The last I knew was New York City.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall who the other members of the YCL group were at Vassar?

Miss RAYMOND. I have some of them. Do you want me to give the names?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, if you will, and identify them as much as possible.

Miss RAYMOND. Charlotte Feldman, married to a gentleman by the name of Jonas Muller.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you know where they presently reside?

Miss RAYMOND. He is a doctor, too, I believe. The last I knew was San Francisco.

Molly Thomas, Ann Folsom, who is now the wife of Dr. Richard Lipman.

Betty Bushnell, Dodie Ferris; she must have another name, but I don't know it.

Ruth Murray. Bertha Cummings. Marjorie Polin.

That is all I am sure of. There must have been others, but I don't recall them.

Mr. WHEELER. How often were these meetings held?

Miss RAYMOND. About once every 2 weeks.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall who the officers were of the YCL?

Miss RAYMOND. I don't recall who the officers were, but Charlotte Feldman was the leading light.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall where the meetings were held?

Miss RAYMOND. In one of the girls' rooms; whichever seemed the most secure.

Mr. WHEELER. You mean in the dormitory?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. What was the primary objective of the YCL at Vassar?

Miss RAYMOND. Well, during the 4 years it changed radically. At the beginning of that year it was the peace mobilization, and then when we got in the war, of course, it switched entirely; it was for the second front.

Mr. WHEELER. Was this in line with the Soviet foreign policy?

Miss RAYMOND. It was in line with the American Communist Party policy, which I assume was in accordance with the Soviet policy.

Mr. WHEELER. Have you ever known of an occasion where the line of the YCL and the Communist Party altered from the Soviet policy?

Miss RAYMOND. Not personally.

Mr. WHEELER. Was there a branch of the American Student Union at Vassar?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. To what extent did the YCL influence or control the policies of the American Student Union?

Miss RAYMOND. Completely controlled it, in my opinion.

Mr. WHEELER. Did any members of the YCL hold offices in the American Student Union?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Could you identify that person?

Miss RAYMOND. I don't recall who was chairman when I arrived. At the end of my freshman year I was made chairman. It died shortly thereafter.



Mr. WHEELER. Did the American Student Union advocate peace during the Stalin-Hitler Pact, when the pact was broken on the second front?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. They were in accord with the same objectives as the YCL?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. You previously stated that Charlotte Feldman was a member of the YCL and also editor of the campus paper. What was the name of the school paper at Vassar?

Miss RAYMOND. Student News.

Mr. WHEELER. To what extent were the policies of the YCL reflected in the paper?

Miss RAYMOND. I think they were reflected in the sense there was usually an editorial giving more or less the party policy, but because there was only one paper occasionally there was an opposing editorial or they would print letters back and forth.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you ever hold any position on the school paper?

Miss RAYMOND. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you know who the faculty adviser was of the school paper?

Miss RAYMOND. No, I don't.

Mr. WHEELER. Did the YCL unit have a faculty adviser?

Miss RAYMOND. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. WHEELER. Did any professors at Vassar attend the meetings of the YCL, either as guests or lecturers?

Miss RAYMOND. Not of the YCL; no.

Mr. WHEELER. Was there a faculty adviser to the American Student Union?

Miss RAYMOND. My recollection is there had to be, in order for it to be a campus organization; but I don't recall who it was.

Mr. WHEELER. Whoever it was, the faculty would be in accord with the policies of the American Student Union, or was there any friction between the faculty and the American Student Union or the paper?

Miss RAYMOND. I would say most of the faculty was opposed to the Student Union, but Vassar has always had a liberal tradition for having the minority to be heard. No action was taken, to my knowledge.

Mr. WHEELER. To your knowledge was there any unit comprised of faculty members of the Vassar faculty?

Miss RAYMOND. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. WHEELER. Why did you sever your membership in the YCL?

Miss RAYMOND. Well, I graduated and once out of college there was no point in being in the youth group. I didn't know precisely where I was heading; I must have dropped out.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you have any additional information you can add to your testimony regarding your experiences in the YCL?

Miss RAYMOND. I don't recall anything further.

Mr. WHEELER. I believe you testified that you moved to Los Angeles in 1944.

Miss RAYMOND. That is right.

Mr. WHEELER. After your graduation from Vassar?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Before leaving the matter of the branch of the YCL at Vassar, perhaps you have touched on this, but were there any

faculty counselors or advisers or others of the faculty in any way connected with the student branch?

Miss RAYMOND. Not officially. Well, I would say there were two faculty members, both of whom are now dead, who were considered by the other members of the group to be friendly and were sometimes sought out for advice; but they had no official connection.

Mr. JACKSON. They did not attend any of the meetings of the branch?

Miss RAYMOND. No.

Mr. WHEELER. You previously testified that you first became a member of the Communist Party in 1945. Who recruited you into the Communist Party?

Miss RAYMOND. Bill Pomerance and Pauline Lauber Finn.

Mr. WHEELER. Identify Pauline Lauber Finn as to her position.

Miss RAYMOND. She was the executive secretary of the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization, where I was working at the time.

Mr. WHEELER. What was William Pomerance's occupation?

Miss RAYMOND. He was executive secretary of the Screen Writers' Guild, I believe.

Mr. WHEELER. Who was responsible for your employment in the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization?

Miss RAYMOND. Bill Pomerance.

Mr. WHEELER. After joining the Communist Party, were you assigned to any particular branch or unit?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. After what period of time, after you actually became a member were you assigned immediately or was there a lapse of a few weeks or months?

Miss RAYMOND. There was a lapse of at least 7 weeks, and perhaps longer, due partly to confusion in the party itself, upon the publication of the Duclos letter.

Mr. WHEELER. What was the Duclos letter?

Miss RAYMOND. The Duclos letter was a public letter written by Jacques Duclos of the French Communist Party attacking the role of the American Communist Party, that it was playing.

The American Communist Party was not a working-class party, not militant, that it was subject to all the influences of middle-class bourgeoisie.

Mr. JACKSON. It denounced Earl Browder's leadership of the Communist Party in the United States?

Miss RAYMOND. That is right.

Mr. WHEELER. Did it not also infer or state that there could be no further coexistence between communism and capitalism?

Miss RAYMOND. I do not recall the letter itself, but certainly that was—

Mr. WHEELER. The interpretation?

Miss RAYMOND. Implication, as I recall the attitude.

Mr. WHEELER. You previously testified that one reason for becoming a member of the YCL was that the YCL was in accord with the Government; isn't that right? I mean with the policies of the United States.

Miss RAYMOND. I won't say that that was one of the reasons I joined, but I had no reason to be suspicious of its being opposed.

Mr. WHEELER. After the Duclos letter was issued, wasn't there a sharp difference in the policies by the Soviet Union toward the Government of the United States?

Miss RAYMOND. That is true.

Mr. WHEELER. Did this affect you in any way, as you had just recently become a member of the Communist Party, did this in any way affect your thinking or did you just accept it as a matter of course?

Miss RAYMOND. I think I could explain it this way: I was a fairly lonely unstable girl in a new town. Most of my social life was involved with the Communist Party, as well as my work and political activities.

Unreasonable as it sounds, I think my attempt was to try and fit my thinking to the people I was with, rather than to think for myself.

Mr. WHEELER. You are placing the Duclos letter and the sharp difference of opinion then, arising then as secondary.

Miss RAYMOND. My attitude was, "Well, they all say so, they must be right. I am wrong." My attempt was to keep myself in step, rather than to think for myself, what I really believed.

Mr. WHEELER. To what type of group were you originally assigned?

Miss RAYMOND. It was a mixed group of professional people mostly.

Mr. WHEELER. How long were you a member of the first group?

Miss RAYMOND. About 6 months is my recollection.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall whether the group had a name or number?

Miss RAYMOND. I don't recall.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall what section it was in? Would it be the Hollywood section?

Miss RAYMOND. It was the Hollywood section.

Mr. WHEELER. Have you ever heard of the Hollywood section referred to as the Northwest Section?

Miss RAYMOND. I heard that expression. I wasn't aware it was the Hollywood section.

Mr. WHEELER. It is one at the same. I don't want to confuse the record. How many individuals comprised this group?

Miss RAYMOND. I would guess about 15 to 20.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall who the chairman was?

Miss RAYMOND. Maurice Clark.

Mr. WHEELER. Will you further identify Maurice Clark?

Miss RAYMOND. He was a writer, married to Helen Fisher Clark, who was the executive secretary of the Spanish Refugee Appeal, if that was the title it was going under at that point; whatever that organization was call in that year.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you know her as a member of the Communist Party?

Miss RAYMOND. It was an assumption; not to my knowledge.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall any other officers of this group?

Miss RAYMOND. No, I don't.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you pay dues?

Miss RAYMOND. I did.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall to whom you paid your dues?

Miss RAYMOND. No, I don't.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall the names of any of the other individuals of this group?

Miss RAYMOND. Jerry and Mildred Robinson.



Mr. WHEELER. Is that Jerome Robinson?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. R-o-b-i-n-s-o-n?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. What was their occupation?

Miss RAYMOND. Jerome Robinson was a photographer. I believe his wife was just a housewife.

Buddy Yarus, also known as George Tyne, the actor. Lynn Whitney, a radio actress. And Frank Tarloff.

Those are all the names I recall.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall where the meetings were held?

Miss RAYMOND. In people's homes.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall what homes particularly?

Miss RAYMOND. In the Robinsons' home, and there was another home somewhere around New Hampshire, north of Hollywood Boulevard, but I don't know the name of the people.

Mr. WHEELER. You mentioned the Duclos letter. Do you recall if any outsiders or lecturers came to your group to explain the meaning of the Duclos letter?

Miss RAYMOND. Not while I was in attendance.

Mr. WHEELER. Were you subsequently transferred to a second group?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall the approximate date?

Miss RAYMOND. About January 1946.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall the reason why you were transferred?

Miss RAYMOND. There was a general reorganization at that time, and the group into which I went were mostly writers, who were also working with the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization, who by then had very little income.

Mr. WHEELER. This second group was composed mostly of writers?

Miss RAYMOND. That is right.

Mr. WHEELER. How long were you a member of the second group?

Miss RAYMOND. Roughly a year. I am not too clear.

Mr. WHEELER. That would bring it up approximately to January 1947?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall how many members comprised this group?

Miss RAYMOND. Between 20 and 25.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall who the officers were?

Miss RAYMOND. Pauline Townsend was the chairman. Dick Collins was the secretary. I was the financial director.

Mr. WHEELER. You were the treasurer and financial director?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Who else were the members? Will you identify the membership?

Miss RAYMOND. Pauline and Leo Townsend, Ring Lardner, Jr., Alice and Ian Hunter, Bob and Mary Shaw—

Mr. WHEELER. Is that the Robert Shaw that held a position with the Screen Writers' Guild?

Miss RAYMOND. That is right.

Mr. WHEELER. Head of that publication department?



Miss RAYMOND. Yes. Jay and Sondra Gorney, John and Cookie Wexley—

Mr. WHEELER. Cookie Wexley is his wife?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes. Pauline Lauber Finn, Bob and Kay Roberts.

Mr. WHEELER. This Bob Roberts was head of Roberts Productions, and I believe he was a partner of John Garfield at one time?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes, the same one. Meta Reis was on our rolls but never came.

Mr. JACKSON. Later Meta Reis Rosenberg?

Miss RAYMOND. That is right. John Webber, and Lou Amster. Ben and Norma Barzman, Sol Barzman, Ben Maddow, and Bess Taffel.

Mr. JACKSON. Were these individuals you named as being members of the second group all or in large part members of the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization?

Miss RAYMOND. They were members of the Screen Writers' Guild. The Hollywood Writers' Mobilization didn't have individual membership.

Mr. JACKSON. What was your capacity in the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization?

Miss RAYMOND. Secretary, sort of assistant to—secretary to Pauline Lauber.

Mr. JACKSON. A great many of the writers were working at that time on Government work, were they not, on scripts and so forth for the United States Government?

Miss RAYMOND. Many of them were, yes.

Mr. JACKSON. To what extent were Communist Party members given preference in the preparation of these Government scripts?

Miss RAYMOND. My impression was most of these Government scripts were voluntary jobs. It was hard to get anybody who wanted to do something for nothing in those days, and the chances were you got Communists to do the work because there was more discipline over them.

The attempt was to get non-Communists activated in the mobilization, in order to keep it as a front and not let it become strictly a Communist group.

Mr. JACKSON. But Communist writers were doing scripts for the Government?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes. However, when I worked for the mobilization most of that was toward the end of the war and most of that work was coming to a close.

Mr. JACKSON. What were the mechanics of this organization, so far as Washington and Hollywood were concerned? That is, would there be a request made for scripts or how did this whole thing operate?

Let's say, for example, the Department of the Army wanted to do—

Miss RAYMOND. I am aware of what you want. I came in in 1945. This was fairly late. At one time, according to what I could gather from the file, in past operations they worked very closely with the USO and did a great deal of material for camp shows.

I am sorry to say I don't know too much about the exact channels, how these assignments came there. There was connection with the OWI.

Mr. JACKSON. What was the actual operation of getting a given script handled through the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization or handled through the Screen Writers' Guild?

Miss RAYMOND. The Hollywood Writers' Mobilization was considered as the wartime writers' agency, much as the Victory Committee was considered the actors' agency. However, the Victory Committee stuck strictly to the war.

The Hollywood Writers' Mobilization, through the Communist influence, was continually hoping to expand its activities and keep functioning after the war.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you have any personal knowledge of any contacts in Washington who were responsible for getting scripts?

Miss RAYMOND. I was too late for that.

Mr. WHEELER. Getting back to the Communist Party membership, you stated you were treasurer?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Of this second group?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. And your membership was approximately a year from January 1944—

Miss RAYMOND. 1946.

Mr. WHEELER. To—

Miss RAYMOND. 1947.

Mr. WHEELER. From 1946 to 1947?

Miss RAYMOND. Roughly.

Mr. WHEELER. You collected dues from all the individuals you have mentioned?

Miss RAYMOND. I tried.

Mr. WHEELER. To what extent did you achieve that?

Miss RAYMOND. I was usually fairly successful in collecting the basic dues, which are the dues that every party member, regardless of occupation and income, must pay.

The Hollywood section had an additional assessment of, to my recollection, 4 percent of the writers' net salary.

Mr. JACKSON. Net salary or gross salary?

Miss RAYMOND. My recollection is that the definition was net. However, almost every case had to be taken and weighed for special consideration. There was much discussion whether an agent's fee should be taken off before you computed it, and alimony problems.

Mr. JACKSON. It would be a complicated procedure to arrive at any rule of thumb.

Miss RAYMOND. That was the rule. It couldn't be arbitrary; you couldn't have collected anything.

Mr. WHEELER. You mentioned some individuals refused. What individuals refused to pay?

Miss RAYMOND. No one refused to pay. It was a question of their parting with the cash, I guess.

Mr. JACKSON. It was more difficult to collect from some than others?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes. It was always a problem to collect large sums of money. The writers would owe as much as 2 or 3 or 4 hundred dollars a quarter and we didn't want any checks floating around, so it was a question—many of the writers had business managers who were not Communists, and it was a question of how to spring that much cash without arousing suspicion of their business managers.

Mr. WHEELER. How much money would you say you collected during the period of one year?

Miss RAYMOND. My recollection is 3 or 4 thousand dollars; that is very rough.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you maintain any records?

Miss RAYMOND. I am sorry to say, I destroyed them all.

Mr. WHEELER. The money you collected, whom did you turn it over to?

Miss RAYMOND. I turned it over to George and Tiba Willner.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you know what happened to the dues after you gave it to them?

Miss RAYMOND. There was a division—I don't recall how much—a certain portion of it was supposed to go to the National Communist Party and a certain portion to the State organization and a certain portion to the county, and each club was permitted to retain a small amount for its own treasury.

Mr. WHEELER. Did any of the individuals in this group appeal the 4 percent and become what is termed as hardship cases?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes. These are the people that had alimony problems or other problems which made the 4 percent unreasonable to them.

Mr. WHEELER. Who settled the dispute of how much they were to pay?

Miss RAYMOND. Well, people usually wanted these things kept confidential, so that the person involved would discuss it with his own financial secretary, who would then take up the case, either with George and Tiba Willner or possibly with the committee in charge of finances for the Hollywood section, and hand down a decision.

Mr. WHEELER. In approximately 1947 you were transferred to a third group, is that correct?

Miss RAYMOND. That is right.

Mr. WHEELER. What type of group was this?

Miss RAYMOND. That was a group of people in radio.

Mr. WHEELER. How long were you a member of the third group?

Miss RAYMOND. Until about June of 1948.

Mr. WHEELER. Who were the officers of the third group, as you recall?

Miss RAYMOND. The leaders of the group, I don't recall exactly what positions they held, but Sam Moore, Pauline Hopkins, and Mitchel Lindeman, and he was also quite active on a county level.

Mr. WHEELER. Would you further identify each of the three individuals?

Miss RAYMOND. Sam Moore was a radio writer, comedy writer. Pauline Hopkins was also a radio writer.

Mitch Lindeman, I don't recall exactly where he is working at this time. He worked in the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization for a while. He later became associated with Harold Hecht.

Mr. WHEELER. Sam Moore at one time was president of the Radio Writers' Guild, national president, the same individual?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Pauline Hopkins at one time was married to Owen Vinson?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. I would like the record to show at this point that some of these individuals identified have appeared before the com-



mittee and cooperated. The ones that have cooperated are Richard Collins, Leo Townsend, Pauline Townsend, Meta Reis, Owen Vinson.

Do you recall the names of the other members of this group?

Miss RAYMOND. Some of them.

Mr. WHEELER. Would you relate the ones you do recall, and also identify them as to their occupation or any other pertinent information you may have concerning them?

Miss RAYMOND. Muni Diamond, Bill Wolff, a radio writer. Jack and Mary Robinson, radio writers. Gene Stone, a radio writer and partner of Jack Robinson. Angela Clarke, actress. Rubin Ship, radio writer. Jerry and Ann Fielding; Jerry is a musician and composer for radio.

Mr. WHEELER. Is he the same individual or same person as the arranger for the group on Groucho Marx's program?

Miss RAYMOND. I believe so.

Mr. WHEELER. He is an orchestra leader?

Miss RAYMOND. He is an orchestra leader.

Bill Alland. Virginia Mullen.

Mr. WHEELER. Is Bill Alland a producer?

Miss RAYMOND. At the Universal International.

Lee Witner. Mike and Ellen Davidson. Fern Shea.

Mr. WHEELER. Mike Davidson is known as Michael Davidson and he is executive secretary of the Radio Writers' Guild?

Miss RAYMOND. That is right.

Bert Cooper and Ed Max, Stanley Waxman, and Ben Polin.

Mr. WHEELER. Going back to Fern Shea, I believe she is the wife of a writer named Arthur Strawn?

Miss RAYMOND. So I understand.

Mr. WHEELER. Bert Cooper is a radio writer?

Miss RAYMOND. She was when I entered the group. She left the group shortly thereafter to go to Chicago, and I believe she returned to Los Angeles, I don't know.

Mr. WHEELER. Ed Max is a writer?

Miss RAYMOND. Actor. Stan Waxman is an actor, and Ben Polin is a photographer for CBS.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you hold any official position in this group?

Miss RAYMOND. I was again treasurer.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you collect dues from all the individuals you have mentioned?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes; I tried to, yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall to whom you gave the money you collected?

Miss RAYMOND. For a while I gave it to Margaret Maltz. And then to Naomi Robison.

Mr. WHEELER. Did all the individuals in this group subscribe to the 4 percent system?

Miss RAYMOND. That percentage only applied if you were making more than a certain amount a week or a quarter, I think, was the designation. Only a very few of these people were making that kind of money.

Mr. WHEELER. What were some of the topics of discussion with the radio group?

Miss RAYMOND. Mostly about the radio industry. To some extent the contents of radio scripts that were appearing on the air.



Mr. WHEELER. You referred to contents. Will you elaborate further?

Miss RAYMOND. I think the object of most of the people in the group was to improve their work, the radio writers, as well as be as progressive about it as possible.

Mr. WHEELER. Were there any instructions for them to put any particular material in the script?

Miss RAYMOND. Most of them didn't work on the kind of scripts where that was likely. They were comedy writers; just old jokes, more than politics.

Mr. WHEELER. Then there was no——

Miss RAYMOND. There was discussion of the woman question, how to present women on the radio, and not as the butt of jokes, and to get away from the mother-in-law and that kind of joke.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall how many radio groups there were?

Miss RAYMOND. Three to my knowledge.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you ever attend any meetings of the other groups or meet any officers of the other groups?

Miss RAYMOND. I never attended any meetings. There were occasionally joint executive sessions of the 3 groups, and there was also an educational class organized, made up of representatives of the 3 groups.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall the names of any of the individuals who were members of the executive committees of the other groups?

Miss RAYMOND. I think Charles Glenn and Elaine Gonda appeared at those meetings.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall anyone else?

Miss RAYMOND. Hy Alexander, I think. I don't recall whether he was in my group or in the executive committee of one of the others. It seems to me that Angers Wooley was in one of those groups.

Mr. WHEELER. In one of those meetings, you mean?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes. It is very difficult for me to separate the people, where I met them, especially the ones I knew well.

Mr. WHEELER. You attended educational classes or study groups?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. What was the purpose of the class?

Miss RAYMOND. A class in basic Marxism, an elementary class.

Mr. WHEELER. How long did this class last?

Miss RAYMOND. There were supposed to be about 12 sessions, I think, once a week.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall where the classes were held?

Miss RAYMOND. They were also held in people's homes.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall whose homes?

Miss RAYMOND. That one was held at the home of Gene Stone sometimes, and David and Pat Ellis.

Mr. WHEELER. Who was the instructor?

Miss RAYMOND. Harry Carlisle.

Mr. WHEELER. Is this the only educational class you attended, or study group?

Miss RAYMOND. To my recollection.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall the individuals who attended this particular study group or educational class?

Miss RAYMOND. Aside from people I have already mentioned, I don't know of any others. There undoubtedly were.

Mr. WHEELER. Approximately in July 1948, I believe you were transferred to a fourth group, is that correct?

Miss RAYMOND. That is right.

Mr. WHEELER. What type of group was this?

Miss RAYMOND. This was again a writers' group. I was switched to that because I changed jobs and was working with writers.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall who the officers were of the fourth group?

Miss RAYMOND. Lou Solomon was chairman. I don't recall—the officers would keep shifting, and I don't recall who they were exactly. I was financial director again.

Mr. WHEELER. Who were the members of this group?

Miss RAYMOND. David Robison, Louise Rousseau, Edward and Stella Eliscu. Joseph and Florence Michel, and Margaret Gruen, and Mary and Mike Simmons, and Sol Kaplan and his wife, Min. Selvin, and Harry Carlisle, and Carleton Moss.

Dr. Frank Davis, and Nelda Salenger, Henry Meyers and his wife, and Seymour Robinson.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you collect dues from all these individuals?

Miss RAYMOND. For the most part.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall who you turned the money over to that you collected from this group.

Miss RAYMOND. Mortimer Offner.

Mr. WHEELER. How long did you remain a member of this particular group?

Miss RAYMOND. Roughly until the early part of 1949.

Mr. WHEELER. Now, did you have occasion to meet people outside of your group whom you knew to be Communists?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes, from time to time. When the financial directors would meet, and also during the many discussions on so-called Maltz articles which appeared in the New Masses.

Mr. WHEELER. You stated the financial directors or treasurers' group would meet occasionally?

Miss RAYMOND. About once a month.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall the names of the treasurers you met with?

Miss RAYMOND. Some of them. There was Julian Zimet.

Mr. WHEELER. Would you further identify him?

Miss RAYMOND. A writer, motion-picture writer.

Mr. WHEELER. Who else?

Miss RAYMOND. Leo Townsend and Joan La Cour. I believe she was a secretary for the Hollywood Committee for the Arts, Sciences and Professions. I have forgotten the title of that committee.

Mr. WHEELER. Is that all you recall of the treasurers?

Miss RAYMOND. That is all I recall.

Mr. WHEELER. What was discussed at these particular meetings?

Miss RAYMOND. The purpose of the meetings was, first, to turn over the funds we had collected to Mortimer Offner; and secondly, to discuss possible methods of not only getting better collections of dues owed, but otherwise to raise money for the party.

Mr. WHEELER. How many treasurers or financial directors attended these meetings?

Miss RAYMOND. I think there were supposed to be about 8 or 10. There were always a few that didn't show up.

Mr. WHEELER. Would this be the northwest section?

Miss RAYMOND. The Hollywood section.

Mr. WHEELER. In other words, it would be 8 to 10 branches in the Hollywood section, is that correct?

Miss RAYMOND. That is right.

Mr. WHEELER. That would include the radio writers, the motion-picture writers, the actors, the back-lot employees?

Miss RAYMOND. I don't recall whether the back-lot employees were in it or not, but, yes, the others. The back-lot employees were always changing their notion as to whether they should be a part of the Hollywood section or not.

Mr. WHEELER. Would it be a group comprised of individuals engaged in talent field, rather than the craft field?

Miss RAYMOND. Again it is hard for me to recall, because there were constant discussions as to whether the group should be organized along those lines.

Mr. WHEELER. There was a secretarial group in Hollywood, too. Was there a representative of the secretarial group there?

Miss RAYMOND. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. WHEELER. There was also a musicians' group. Do you recall representatives of the musicians' group?

Miss RAYMOND. I don't recall it.

Mr. WHEELER. You have mentioned you attended some meetings in regard to the Maltz letter. Will you explain what the Maltz letter was?

Miss RAYMOND. It was articles. He had written an article in the New Masses magazine about the role of the writer. The party took great exception to his point of view.

Mr. WHEELER. In this article Maltz wrote he was pleading for more self-expression of the artist or writer, isn't that right?

Miss RAYMOND. That is right, and more freedom to express himself.

Mr. WHEELER. What was the result of Maltz' article? I believe this appeared in the New Masses, this article?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes. As I said, the party took exception to his position and—

Mr. WHEELER. The rank and file of the party or the officials of the party?

Miss RAYMOND. The officials officially took exception and created a great deal of discussion in the rank and file, even before the officials had come down. It was an old fight, in a sense, within the party of to what extent a writer should write his own expression and to what extent his writings—he was responsible for making his writings a social document of some sort; not necessarily a pamphlet, but at least a political point of view.

Mr. WHEELER. What was the ultimate decision reached by the Communist Party in regard to this article?

Miss RAYMOND. They followed the usual procedure of discussing it and discussing it until everybody, at least on the surface, agreed with them, and Maltz, I am sorry to say, finally wrote another article for the New Masses, saying that perhaps he was wrong, and reversing his position to a large extent.

Mr. WHEELER. In the matter of reversing his position, what did it mean to you?

Miss RAYMOND. I think I was pretty disgusted with him.



Mr. WHEELER. I mean on a Communist theory level, what did it actually mean to you when he was directed to reverse his position?

Miss RAYMOND. It was never put that bluntly.

Mr. WHEELER. Here is the first article he wrote expressing a desire for more freedom for the artists and writers. And he recanted, he reversed his position.

Miss RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Certainly you can derive something out of that.

Miss RAYMOND. I derived that he has no freedom. I think many of us were hoping that he would have the courage to maintain his convictions.

I at that point even was still of the opinion the party was dictatorial in spots, that the way to change it was from within, because in having been brought up with democracy, the way you correct things is to work at them where they are and not to walk out on them.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall if any top functionary came from New York City to discuss the Maltz article with the membership of the party?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes. I believe it was Samuel Sillen.

Mr. WHEELER. Were you present at any meeting at which Samuel Sillen spoke?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes, I was. I don't recall whether there were one or two meetings.

Mr. WHEELER. The Maltz article has been discussed on numerous occasions in previous testimony. To go into it any further now, I don't think is necessary.

However, I would like for you to advise the committee of the names of the individuals you have met at these particular discussions over the Maltz situation.

Miss RAYMOND. Well, they were held again in homes. Comparatively few homes could accommodate so many people. Dan and Lilith James, their home was used. And Abe Polonsky and his wife.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall his wife's name?

Miss RAYMOND. I knew the girl very well. I can't remember the first name; I am sorry.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall anyone else you met as a member of the Communist Party?

Miss RAYMOND. There were two people, however, at the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization, Bert Bargeman and Thelma Walker.

Mr. WHEELER. Can you further identify these people?

Miss RAYMOND. Bert Bargeman was assistant to Pauline Lauber Finn, I would say, and Thelma Walker was the secretary. John Stapp.

Mr. WHEELER. He is a party functionary?

Miss RAYMOND. He is a party functionary.

One other is Arnold Manoff who conducted a class.

Mr. WHEELER. He conducted what type of class?

Miss RAYMOND. I said I didn't think I attended any other educational class. I must be wrong, because it seems to me he was holding a series at his house. I don't recall the specific orientation of it.

Paul Perlin spoke to us when I was in the second group, of the writers, at one of the meetings.

Ray Glazer was in the radio group I was in.

Mr. WHEELER. A radio writer?



Miss RAYMOND. He was, yes. He was very briefly. He became quite ill after that, and I don't know what happened to him.

Mr. WHEELER. Now, how many months were you employed with the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization?

Miss RAYMOND. About 18, I think.

Mr. WHEELER. Could you date the time, approximately?

Miss RAYMOND. Well, the middle of December 1944 to, I believe it was, June 1946.

Mr. WHEELER. Was there a fraction of Communists who were also members of the Writers' Mobilization?

Miss RAYMOND. I think there was, but I was not a part of it.

Mr. WHEELER. You were not a part of it?

Miss RAYMOND. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you ever attend any meetings of the executive committee of the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization?

Miss RAYMOND. Yes, occasionally.

Mr. WHEELER. To what extent did the Communist Party control the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization?

Miss RAYMOND. I would say to a very large extent. The most vocal people on the executive board, for the most part, were Communists.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you know Milton Merlin?

Miss RAYMOND. I know of him, not very well.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you ever attend an executive board meeting of the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization at which he was present?

Miss RAYMOND. I may have; I am not sure.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you ever meet him as a member of the Communist Party?

Miss RAYMOND. No.

Mr. WHEELER. At any time did you ever hold any position at the section level of the Communist Party or were you ever asked to hold such a position?

Miss RAYMOND. At one time—it must have been the summer of 1946—I went East for a vacation and I got a letter asking me would I be section organizer for the Hollywood section. They had just relieved Charley Glenn of the job. I declined the invitation.

Mr. WHEELER. Getting back to the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization, do you know if any issue ever arose, any given issue ever arose, that a decision was reached by the executive board of the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization that would assist the Communist Party in its efforts and be detrimental to the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization, or were there any issues that sharp during the period of time you were employed by them?

Miss RAYMOND. I don't recall anything that sharp. When the war was over, after V-J Day particularly, the conflict was more whether the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization should continue or should not continue. It was mainly the Communists who wanted it to continue.

Mr. WHEELER. Could you state for what reason they wanted it to continue?

Miss RAYMOND. As a propaganda medium. They had embarked upon the publication of the Hollywood Quarterly. There was an attempt to set up various craft committees again, which they have had from time to time, radio writers, screen writers, and there was an attempt at the end of the war. There was a series of radio programs on returning veterans. There was preparation for something on the

atomic bomb. I think the idea was to continue that kind of work as long as possible.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you know of any connection between the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization and the Actors' Laboratory?

Miss RAYMOND. I don't think officially there was any connection. They certainly worked closely. If there was an affair of some sort that needed actors, they would go and if the lab needed writers they would go.

Mr. WHEELER. What was your reason for leaving the Communist Party?

Miss RAYMOND. Fundamentally I think it was a process of growing up, where I finally came to realize, one, actually what they were saying was not what I wanted to hear.

Also there was a sharp division between their avowed purpose and what they seemed to be actually doing, when I got myself straightened out enough to see the thing more objectively.

Also I realize that it wasn't a question of trying to make the organization more democratic from within; this just was not possible. I no longer cared to be a member of the organization then.

On the other hand, my whole social life for almost—almost completely was involved with people of this group. One just doesn't summarily break it off. It isn't that easy.

I was trying to find some more or less gentle way of disassociating, because if you quit with any show, then no party member is supposed to speak to you; you are an outcast and untrustworthy. From their point of view, I suppose I was.

However, one hesitates to disrupt one's entire life to that extent.

They solved my problem for me a little bit. I was taking some treatments from a psychotherapist at the time, and the party held a position against psychotherapy to a large extent, and they asked me to take a leave of absence. I readily assented. They asked me to please be sure, when I finished, to come back. I left that hanging, knowing I had no intention of ever returning.

Mr. WHEELER. The party recommended that you see a psychologist, other than one you did?

Miss RAYMOND. No, they did not.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you have anything else you would like to add to the record?

Miss RAYMOND. I just would like to say I am glad to have this opportunity to tell you what I know. If I can add anything new, fine.

Mr. WHEELER. That is all.

Mr. JACKSON. Miss Raymond, the committee is most appreciative of your cooperation in this matter. I am sure that I speak for all of the members of the committee in expressing our thanks to you.

(Whereupon the hearing was adjourned subject to call.)

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